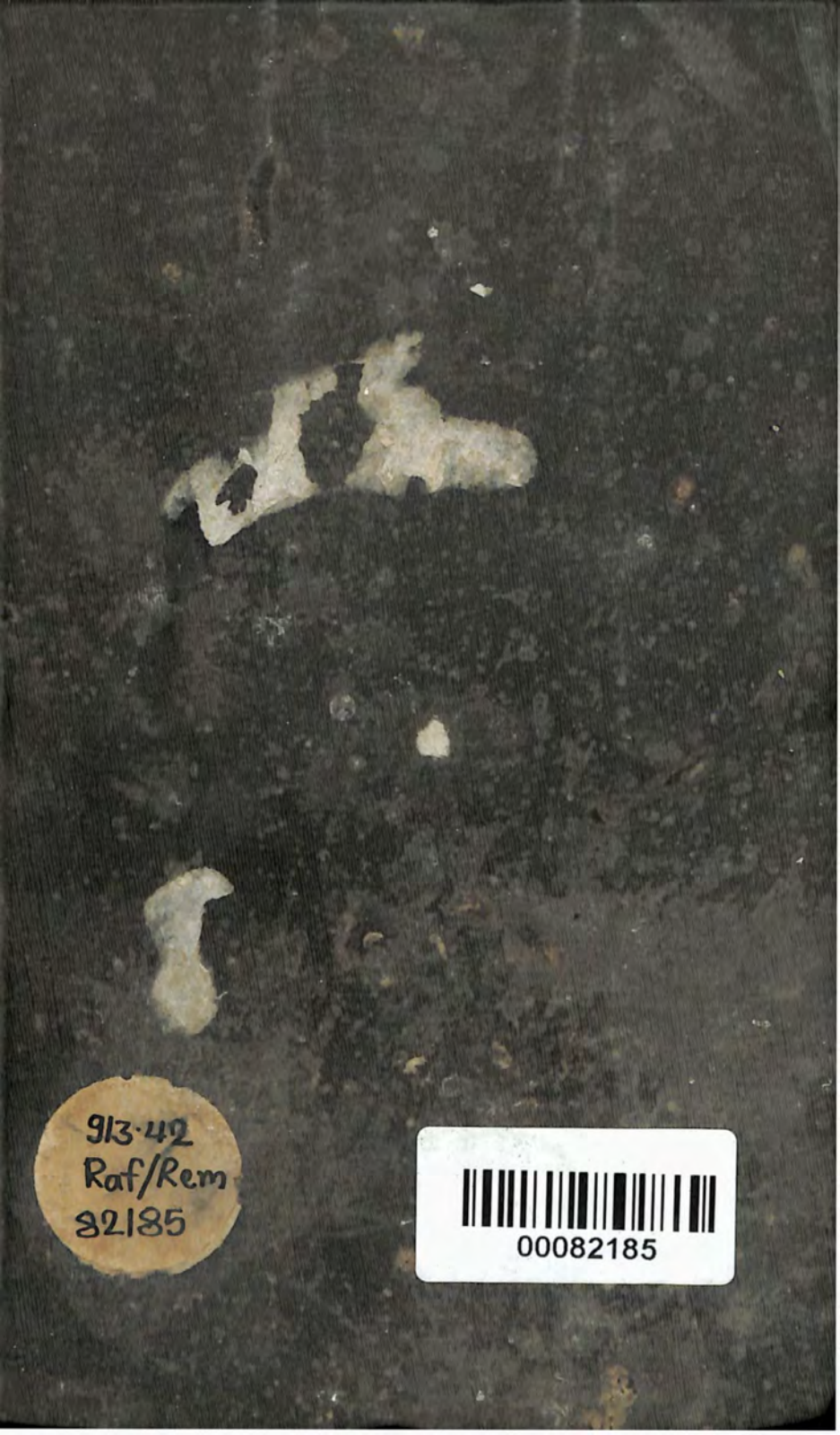
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THE
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REMARKS

ON A

DANISH RUNIC STONE

FROM THE ELEVENTH CENTURY,

FOUND IN THE

CENTRAL PART OF LONDON.

BY

CHARLES CHRISTIAN RAFN.

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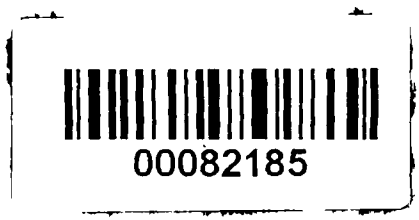
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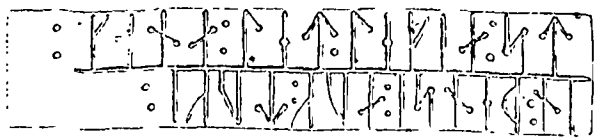

"LUNDÚNABORG er allra borga mest ok ágæzt of öll Nordrlönd:" The city of London is of all cities the largest and most distinguished in all the Northern countries: is an expression which we find already in the Saga of Ragnar Lodbrok[1]. Visits paid by Northmen to king Athelstane residing in London are mentioned in the Egils Saga[2] and in the Sagas of the kings of Norway[3]. At that time the Danish dominion in Northumberland and other parts of England, more particularly in Norfolk and Suffolk, had for some centuries been of great importance. After Canute the Great had taken London and subsequently established himself as supreme ruler, this dominion became equally important for the whole of England and remained unshaken for many years. A great many Northmen, and more particularly Danes, at that time, no doubt, settled in England, and occupied high stations, in London, of course, as elsewhere.

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[1]) Fornaldar Sögur Nordrlanda ed. C. C. Rafn, I, p 289. [2]) Egils Saga Skallagrimssonar c. 65 p. 467. Olafs saga Tryggvasonar c 8—9. [3]) Fornmanna Sögur I, p. 16 - 17.

It is a monument undoubtedly erected by two such men which here comes under our consideration. A Fellow of our Society residing in London --- and who with great zeal watches over the Society's interests — Mr. John Brown. has enabled us to describe this object of antiquity with great accuracy. As soon as its discovery had become known in London, he applied to Mr. James T. Knowles Jun., the architect who had the superintendance of the works, by means of which the stone was brought to light; and the latter gentleman did not only, with the greatest readiness. communicate to us a circumstantial report about this curious monument, but made the Society a most welcome present of a cast of the stone, which enables us to examine the inscription with greater accuracy and certainty.

Along with a letter dated the 11th Dec. 1852 he sent to our Society the cast of this very interesting Runic Monument, which was dug up in the last month of August in the central part of London (or as he expresses it "in the heart of the city of London"). In his letter he adds: "Should the course of my profession — (an architect's) bring me into contact with more such relics as the one which forms the subject of this communication, I shall feel proud in any way to further the object of Scandinavian archæology — by transmitting some notice of them to you."

London was in ancient times divided in two parts by a pretty brook of excellent water, and running from North to South. The water was gathered from the fields lying to the North of the city. This brook had a passage through the city wall and ran through the centre of the city into the Thames. Down to the 13th century London was divided into 24 wards, of which 13 lay to the East and 11 to the West of the said brook which on account of its passage through the city wall was named "Wallbrooke".

The wards on the West side increased in extent much more rapidly than those on the East, and on that account the one of them Farringdon, which had been considerably enlarged also by buildings without the gates, was in the year 1393, by an Act of Parliament, divided into two wards, the one called *Farringdon without* (the wall) and the other, which was older, *Farringdon within*. In the latter ward, Farringdon within, was situate the church of St. Paul, with the Monastery and other buildings thereto belonging, in the same place which still is occupied by this Church and its nearest environs. The church was surrounded, as it still is, by St. Paul's churchyard, but in modern times this is a churchyard only in name, for it is nothing but an open space surrounded on both sides by an oval or elliptical row of houses. This row of regularly numbered houses is what now is called "St. Paul's churchyard", which appellation at present, accordingly, is but the name of a street. The foundation of this cathedral was first laid about the year 610 by Ethelred, king of Kent, who endowed St. Paul's Monastery with landed estates. Among the kings, who at a subsequent period most munificently endowed this church, Athelstane, Edgar, Canute the Great, Edward the Confessor, and William the Conqueror are mentioned.

In the year 1086 the church of St. Paul was burnt down in the great fire which at the same time destroyed the greatest part of the city. The Bishop Mauricius then laid the foundation of a new Church of St. Paul, a building of so vast an extent that many at that time believed it never would be finished. For the purpose of securing it against fire it was erected on arches of stone, a mode of architecture till then unknown in England, which was introduced from France: even the stone was brought from Caen in Normandy. Richard Beamor, the successor to

Mauricius in the Bishoprick, enlarged the territory of the church, by adding to it, at his own expense, several large streets and lanes. In the 14th century the church-yard was surrounded by a wall. In the middle of the church-yard the celebrated Cross was erected, with the Pulpit beside it. This was considered as one of the most remarkable as well as also one of the most sacred and solemn places in England. Here the most renowned Divines, and Scholars of the highest distinction, had preached during the course of centuries; and here business of state had been solemnly transacted. According to a resolution of Parliament the cross and pulpit were taken down in the year 1643. The Cathedral of St. Paul was again destroyed in the great fire of London 1666, and was rebuilt in a style fully equalling its former magnificence in the years 1675 to 1710. The new church of St. Paul is the largest and most magnificent in the protestant world, and in the list of the churches of Europe it is always placed immediately after the Church of St. Peter in Rome.

Numerous monuments recorded the names of those buried in the ancient church. Erkenwalde, Bishop of London, was buried in the ancient church about the year 700, and his body was translated into the new church in the year 1140. Sebba, king of the East Saxons, was also buried in the ancient church and translated to the new, and also Ethelred king of the West Saxons [1]. Both in the Saga of Harald the Severe and also in that of Edward the Confessor it is stated that the latter died in London and was buried in the Church of St. Paul (*var jardadr í Páls kirkju*), and the

[1]) See "The history and antiquities of London, by Thomas Allen, vol. III., London 1828" and "A Survey of London, conteyning the Original, Antiquity, Increase, Modern Estate and Description, written in the year 1598 by John Stow; a new edition by William J. Thoms, London 1842."

historian adds that immediately after his death he was glorified by miracles, and he lay in the earth till St. Thomas, the Archbishop of Canterbury, removed him and caused him to be laid in a magnificent sarcophagus. In the Saga of Harald the Severe, it is further stated that Harald, the son of Godwin, who at the decease of Edward was proclaimed king, was anointed and crowned the eighth day of Christmas in the Church of St. Paul (*var vigðr konungs vigslu í Páls kirkju*) [1].

These preliminary observations may be deemed sufficient to establish the locality, which, although the citizens of London and even Englishmen in general may be sufficiently convinced that the church of St. Paul still stands where it has stood these thousand years, is, in treating of matters so ancient, by no means superfluous, since the truth of the popular tradition thus is fortified by the testimony of ancient authors, English as well as Northern. And we shall now insert Mr. Knowles's communication concerning this relic:

Clapham Park, December 1852.

RUNIC GRAVE STONE FROM ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, LONDON.

The stone, of the monumental portion of which the accompanying cast is a fac-simile, was discovered in the process of excavating for the foundations of a new warehouse for Messrs. Cook Sons & Co. on the South side of St. Paul's Church-Yard, in the month of August this year.

At the depth of rather more than 20 feet from the surface the natural ground level was attained, consisting of a compact dark yellow gritty sand, overlying gravel. Upon the surface of this sand the sculptured stone was

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1) The Saga of Harald the Severe c. 112, Fornmanna Sögur VI, p. 396; Saga Játvarðar konúngs hins helga c. 6, Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie 1852, p. 30.

found; and to the North of it, a rude long hollow was scooped out, dipping from South to North at an angle of from 16° to 20°, containing the skeleton of a human being. The skull, with almost the whole of the bones, was thrown into the new excavation, and reburied; but the femur and tibia of one leg, with the tibia of the other, fortunately preserved, are in my possession, and at the service of the British Museum.

The stone slab itself is of a rather friable oolite, probably Bath. The dimensions, when complete, were 1 foot 10½ inches wide by 2 feet 4½ inches long; 10½ inches of the lower part being buried in the soil; the thickness was 4 inches at the upper, and 5 inches at the lower, imbedded, and roughly finished end. The exact size of the sunk panel containing the sculpture is 18½ inches by 13½ inches.

The faces of the sculpture itself are flat, and come up to the general surface plane of the slab; the interstices are sunk out to a depth of barely ¼ of an inch, giving of course a relief to that amount.

The only inscription is found on the left hand edge of the slab, and extends from the top to a little below the bottom of the sculpture panel. The characters, which are Runic, are deeply incised, and indicate great antiquity of execution for the relic.

It may be remarked that although the Runic inscription is considered incomplete by several English scholars — yet that no trace whatever of any farther writing is to be discerned upon the slab — the finish and entire preservation of which lead to the certain inference that no additional inscription did at any time exist upon it. And as to the missing fragment — as has been already noticed — it must have been entirely rough, and buried out of sight.

I would direct attention moreover — as settling this doubt — to the terminal line upon the edge of the slab,

which, being a continuation of the curved line on the face of the stone, appears to indicate a completion of the writing in that direction.

It will be perceived that the slab is broken into 4 fragments, a fifth was thrown into one of the concrete trenches, but its loss is unimportant, as all the lower portion of the stone is but roughly hewn in the very rudest manner, and was evidently inserted in the ground. The remainder of the slab is neatly squared.

The edge of the slab displays by the method of terminating its tooled surface — (i. e. *all* of the stone which was not buried) — the angle of inclination at which this antique head-stone was pitched. This was of about 30°; the sculptured panel and front face of the stone making an obtuse angle of nearly 60° with the ground-surface.

The faces of the sculpture have been coloured with a uniform deep tone of an almost black blue, still very perceptible in the original; slight traces of red are also visible, but are possibly stains of iron oxide.

The cast which accompanies this communication may be relied upon as a faithful transcript of so much of the interesting monument as it includes. The remainder will be clearly and sufficiently understood from the subjoined sketch.

From The Illustrated London News vol. XXI, p. 157. "The extraordinary figure of the animal filling the panel will be understood by the drawing. I would call attention particularly to the horned head and spurred claws, the combination of which seems eminently fantastic. A smaller head on the model of the principal one will be observed towards the upper right hand of the panel. The meaning of the scrolls and details surrounding the main figure I am quite at a loss to conjecture. The whole composition looks very mythologic, or possibly heraldic."

JAMES T. KNOWLES, JUN.

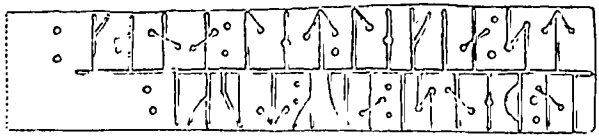
From the cast presented by Mr. Knowles we have made a draft of the Stone (tab. I) exhibiting a side view of it, so that the Runic inscription on the edge becomes plainly visible. As for the rest this draft shews the whole face of the stone as it was found, on a scale of $^1/_6$ of its real size. Only the upper part of the front is sculptured with figures in basrelief, surrounded by a frame which in both the top corners is ornamented with Arabesques.

The face of the stone exhibits the figure of a fantastic quadruped. The head with antlers backward bent has two tusks and a protruded tongue. The claws have a peculiar curvature. Fanciful volutes and flourishes are observed over the hinderpart of the animal and also across and between its tail. A smaller Dragon figure is placed before the larger one, and its hinder part ending in a divided tail is coiled up between the crossed forelegs of the larger animal.

Similar representations of animals we find on a great many Runic stones here in the North, engravings of which may be seen in Bautil n° 383, 595, 639, 642, 644, 758, 760, 956, 968, and with regard to the volutes, more particularly in n° 560, 649, 653, 660 etc. We recognise the same themes and the same taste as is exhibited in the Jellinge monuments, as well in the relics found in the tomb of Queen Thyre, chiefly consisting of curved work, as more especially on the tomb-stone of King Gorm, surnamed the Old.

The Runic inscription is placed on the edge of the stone on the left, equalling in vertical extent the sculpture on the front, from which its completeness may be inferred. It is sculptured in two lines, divided by a transversal line, so that the latter line begins just below the last *Rune* of the first line, and we must turn round to the opposite side in order to read it aright. On ancient Greek monuments such inscriptions are said to be written *βουστροφηδὸν*. The subjoined

engraving shews the place and character of the inscription:



Written with Latin letters the inscription reads as follows:

KONA : LET : LEGIA : ST

:IMAL :MAV :ISNEᵻ :NI

KONA: The first Runic letter is somewhat damaged, but it still can clearly be made out to be a ᚴ, in as much as the root of the oblique stroke is plainly visible: of the second Rune only the stem remains, but on the left-hand side of it a piece of the stone is broke off, so that it appears probable that an ᚾ was sculptured there. An ᚿ it could not be, since the stroke or perpendicular line which is preserved, and which certainly is the hindmost part of the letter, goes up to the very edge of the inscription. *Kona*, which as a noun appellative denotes a woman or wife, might indeed, as *Kuna* on a few Runic stones of Sweden (Liljegren's n° 431, 1317) be a woman's name; nevertheless I think it more probable that the ᚿ of the subsequent word here is to be redoubled in reading, so that the one ᚿ thus is added to the preceding word, and we accordingly are to read the name KONAL, or rather KONÁLL. It was, indeed, a rule, commonly observed in Runic inscriptions, not to put the same letter twice, or the one immediately after the other, but only once and then read it, according to circumstances, as if it had been put twice. Perhaps it may be supposed that it had been preferable to give the ᚿ to the name, and omit it in the subsequent verb LÈT, the imperfect tense of *láta*; but the sculptor has probably considered the method, which he adopted, as the most distinct. As parallels we shall only mention the

Vedyxe stone (L [1] 211, B [2] 404): ᚴᚢᚦ · ᚼᛁᛋᛒᛁ · ᚼᚴᛋ ᚾᚢᚾ ᚴᚢᚦᛋ ᛘᚢᚦᛁᚱ, kuþ: hjalbi: hōs alu kuþs muþir, i. e. kuþ hjalbi hons salu uk kuþs muþir; the Löfstad stone (L 141, B 477): ᚴᚬᚱᚦᚬᚱ · ᚾᚢᚴ · ᚢᛏᛁᚱᛁᚴ, Karþar: auk: utirik i. e. Karþar auk Kutirik; the Tiursåker stone (L 441, B 99): ᛋᛁᛒᛁ: ᚾᚢᚴ: ᛁᚱᛘᚢᚾᛏᚱ, Sibi: auk: irmuntr, i. e. Sibi auk Kirmuntr; the Häringe stone (L 264): ᚦᚢᚱᛒᛁᚢᚱᚾ: ᚾᚢᚴ: ᚾᚢᛏᚱ, Þurbiurn: auk: nutr, i. e. Þurbiurn auk Knútr; the Högelby stone (L 816, B 685): ᚾᚢᚴ · ᚢᚦᛘᚢᚦ, auk: uþmuþ, i. e. auk Kuþmuþ.

LEGIA: we have here indeed a ᚴ (and not a ᚴᚴ) but the cast will shew that that part of the stone which lay between the vertical stroke and the crane stroke is broke off, and in that part most probably a point or dot was inserted, whereby the breaking off of the piece of the stone might more easily be occasioned. When the ᚴ is redoubled, we have *leggja* according to the usual Icelandic orthography.

STIN instead of *stein*, the accusative case of *steinn*, a parsimonious Runic mode of spelling of frequent occurrence.

ÞENSI, a form of the pronoun which also occurs very often instead of the accusative case *þenna* of the nominat. *þessi*, e. g. on the Söderby stone (L 1356), the Larfs-stone (L 1390).

AUK: thus this conjunction is commonly spelt in Runic inscriptions.

TUKI, a Northern man's name of frequent occurrence, more particularly in Denmark.

This inscription accordingly will read as follows, when spelt in the usual Icelandic manner which in modern times has been employed for Old Danish: KONÁLL LÈT LEGGJA STEIN ÞENSI (ÞENNA) OK TÚKI i. e. Konal and Tuki caused this stone to be laid.

[1] J. G. Liljegren, Runurkunder, Stockholm 1833. [2] Bautil with notes by Göransson, Stockh. 1750.

KONÁLL is an Icelandic or Old-Northern man's name of Irish origin. "Oct Conaill", eight Conalls, were killed in the battle of Magh Rath in the year 637. The narrative of this battle is from the close of the 12th century. The Editor, Mr. O'Donovan, adds in a note: "Conall is still in use among a few families as the proper name of a man, but most generally as a surname, though it does not appear that the surname O'Connell is formed from it, that being an Anglicised form of the Irish O'Conghail". [1] The family of Conall are descendents of Conall Gulban, who was a son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Ireland in the fourth century. [2] One of the Saints which were worshipped on the Scottish isle of Arran was Saint Conall. [3]

In the ancient writings of the North, and more particularly in those of Iceland, KONÁLL is a name which frequently occurs. The Landnámabók alone mentions six persons of that name.

The sons of Berse or Brese, Thormod the Old and Ketil, set out from Ireland to Iceland, and took possession of the whole of Akranes, in the West part of Iceland, between Aurridaá and Kalmansá; they were Irishmen; Kalman who gave his name to the river was also an Irishman, and had formerly resided in Katanes. Thormod was the father of

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1) See The Banquet of Dun na n'gedh and the Battle of Magh Rath, an ancient historical tale, edited by J. O'Donovan, published by the Irish Archæological Society, Dublin 1842, p. 290-291. 2) Cinel Conaill, the race of Conall, is mentioned in "The Circuit of Ireland, by Muircheartach Mac Neill, Prince of Aileach; a poem, written in the year 912 by Cormacan Eigeas, chief poet of the north of Ireland, edited by J. O'Donovan," publ. by the Ir. Arch. Soc. Dublin 1841, p. 50. 3) See Chorographical description of West or H-Iar Connaught, by O'Flaherty, edited by J. Hardiman, publ. by the Ir. Arch. Soc. Dublin 1846, p. 75. "Castle Connell" is mentioned in Jacobi Grace, Kilkenniensis, Annales Hiberniæ, ed. by the Rev. R. Butler, publ. by the Ir. Arch. Soc. Dublin 1842, p. 83.

Berse and Geirlang, who was married to Anund Breidskegg (Broad-beard); their son was the renowned Odd of Tunga. Ketil's son was Jörund surnamed the Christian; he resided in Jörundarholt, subsequently named Gardar. Edna was Ketil Bersason's daughter, she was married to an Irishman of the name of Konáll; their son was Asolf Alskik; he emigrated to Iceland and landed in Osar in the Eastern Firths. He was thoroughly Christian and would have no intercourse with heathens, and not receive food from them. With eleven companions he set out from the East, and journeyed westward till he came to the residence of Thorgeir Bardarson from Hordaland (*hinn hördski*) at Holt at the foot of the mountains of Eyafjöll, and there they pitched their tent. There Asolf built himself a cabin (*skáli*) at the foot of the mountains of Eyafjöll at the place which now is called the Eastermost Asolf's Cabin. The neighbours were curious to know what his nourishment might be, and they discovered a great many fishes in the cabin. A river ran close by Asolf's Cabin; at that time it was the beginning of winter; the river was immediately most plentifully stocked with fish. Thorgeir complained of Asolf making use of his fishery. Asolf then removed from thence and built himself an other cabin, which afterwards was called the Middle Cabin, further West close to an other river, which was called Írá (i. e. *Íra á*, the river of the Irish) because they were Irishmen. As soon as they came to this river, it was immediately full of fish, and the people said they had never seen such a wonder; but now all fish had deserted the Eastern river. The inhabitants of the district then expelled Asolf from thence, and now he removed to the Westermost of the three cabins which he built, and still the result was the same. The country-people believed that Asolf and his companions must be wizards, although Thorgeir maintained that they were very good people. In the spring they departed, and

journeyed westward to Akranes to Jörund Asolf's relative. Jörund invited him to stay with him; but in as much as Asolf did not like to reside with other people, Jörund caused a house to be built for him at Innra-Holm; thither they brought him victuals, and there he remained as long as he lived. There he was also buried, and a church is now erected over his grave. He was considered to be a very holy man, and legends are told concerning him [1].

The above named Kalman was of Hebridian origin; he emigrated to Iceland and landed in the Whalefirth (Hvalfiörd) in the Western quarter of that country and first settled near Kalmansá; but subsequently he took land in possession to the West of Hvítá (The white River) between that river and the river Fljót viz the whole of Kalmanstúnga (the Doab of Kalman), and there he made his domestic establishment. The brother of Kalman was called Kylan; his son was Kare who had a quarrel with Karle of Karlastad, a freed-man of Rolf of Geitland; the father of this Karle was called Konáll and he, no doubt, was also an Irishman [2]. The name may doubtless be supposed to have been brought from Ireland to Iceland, where there were several owners of it, both during the time the occupation of Iceland was going on, and subsequently. Thus the grandson of Ölver Barnakarl was called Konáll whose daughter Alfdis from Barey married Olaf Feilan, a grandson of that celebrated settler lady Auda the Vastly-Wealthy, this Olaf being a son of her son Thorstein the Red, who had been king over a part of Scotland and was killed in a battle which he fought against the Scotch [3]. By the same name was also called a son of Ketil of Hördaland in Norway and the grandson of that Konáll, or the son of his son Sokke

[1]) Landnámabók I, 15, Íslendínga Sögur 1, p. 49-52. [2]) Landn. III, 1, Íslend. Sögur 1, p. 61-65. [3]) Landn. II, 19, V, 11, Íslend. Sögur 1, p. 116, 309.

was again named Konáll. The founder of the family, Ketil Thorsteinson, resided at Reykiadal in the Northland of Iceland, where Nattfari, a Dane who in the year 863 had accompanied the first discoverer of Iceland, Gardar Svavarson, had settled ten years before the Norwegian Ingolf came to that country, and had indicated his occupation of the district by marks on the trees; but he was expelled from thence by Einar, the brother of Ketill, and he was thus obliged to repair to an other place, since called Náttfaravik (the Bay of Nattfare) after his name, and settle there. The name Konáll is thus found both in the Western Quarter and also in the Northland of Iceland, at the period of the occupation of that country, and in subsequent ages it has also there been preserved. In the very curious clergy list of 1143 which had been drawn up on account of an approaching election of a Bishop, and which contains the names of some distinguished parsons who were natives of Iceland, we find in the Northland Biarne Conalsson [1]. In the account of the battle of Vidanes which in the year 1208 was fought by the Bishop Gudmund Arason against Kolbein Tumason, Konáll Sockason is mentioned as one of the followers of the Bishop who fought with great bravery on his side, and, no doubt, judging from the names, which often were preserved in the families, he was a descendant of the aforementioned man of the same name [2]. In the account of Eyulf Thorsteinson's attack on Gissur Thorvaldson of Flugumyre 1253 the sons of Ragnhild Brynjuhall and Konáll are mentioned among the comrades of Eyulf [3].

Also here in Scandinavia the name of KONÁLL is found in earlier ages; thus it occurs in an inscription on a Runic stone in Upland, on the Trockhammar stone in the parish

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[1]) Isl. Sögur I, p. 384 the facsimile tab. iij. [2]) Sturlunga Saga II, p. 5, 6, 12. [3]) Sturl. Saga III, p. 184.

of Skâ, the district of Färentuna (L 356, B 286): Kiulakr: lit: raisa: stain: iftir: kvih svain sin: Kunal (ᚴᚢᚾᚨᛚ), which in the usual orthography would read as follows: Kjúlákr lèt reisa stein eftir kviksvein sinn Kunál, i. e. Kjulak caused this stone to be erected after (i e. in memory of) his page Kunal.

The name of Tóki frequently occurred in ancient times in Denmark as well as in other parts of the North. Among the warriors of Harald Hildetönn in the battle of the Field of Bravellir one Toki is mentioned in the Fragment of Skiöldúnga Saga [1], and among the many whom Saxo commends as very distinguished in that battle, this same "Toki Jumensi provincia ortus" (probably from Jum or Jom in Pomerania) was one. Saxo as well as other historical authors, both at earlier and later periods mention several persons of this name.

The same name does also very frequently occur in Runic inscriptions in Denmark as well as in Sweden, and in these it is some times spelt ᛏᚨᚴᛁ, but most frequently quite as in the stone of London, ᛏᚢᚴᛁ, which in modern Danish has been transformed into *Tyge* (latinized *Tycho*). The variations ᛏᚢᚴᛁᚱ and ᚦᚢᚴᛁᚱ are more rare. We shall here only mention three Runic stones in Sweden where this name occurs. In the parish of Angarn, the district of Vallentuna, in Upland there is a stone (L 969, B 94) commemorative of one Tukir, who lost his life in Greece. In the parish of Högby, district of Göstring, in East Gothland we find a stone (L 1180, B 882), which a certain Þukir (read Thookir) placed here in memory of his cousin Asur, who also died in Greece. On the Kaga stone, district of Hanekind, in East Gothland (L 1145, B 850) we read

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[1]) See the editions of this fragment (Sögubrot) by C. C. Rafn in Fornaldar Sögur Norðrlanda I, p. 379 and in Antiquités Russes I, p. 79.

the following inscription: Ruþr: risti: stin: þansi: eftir: Tuki: bruþur: sin: sar: varþ: tribin: a: I lāti: trikr: arþa: kuþr, which in the usual way is spelt thus: Rutr risti stein þenna eftir Tuka, bróður sinn, sá er varð drepinn á Iklanti (á Englandi *or* á Eylandi), drengr harðla góðr i. e. "Rutr (Hrútr) carved this stone after (i. e. in memory of) his brother Tuki, who was killed in England, being a right good gentleman." On the Runic stones of Denmark this name is still more frequent, and on these ᛏᚢᚴᛁ is the most common spelling. On the Hiarup stone, parish of Upåkra, district of Bara, in Scania (L 1439, W 154) we read: "Nafni: risþi: stin: þisi: iftir: Tuka: broþur sin .... han: varþ: vistr: tuþr: arf" i. e. "Nafni carved this stone after his brother Tuki... he died in the Western countries, viz. in the British isles." In the churchwall of Hellestad, district of Torna, also in Scania, the name of Tuki occurs (Tuka in Gen. and Accusat.) on three stones five times (L 1440-1442, B 1164, 1172), and one of the persons named is called ᛏᚢᚴᛁ ᚴᚢᚱᛘᛋ: ᚼᚢᚾ, Tuki Kurms sun i. e. Toke Gormsson. On the Bregninge stone, district of Musse, in Laaland (L 1490, W 262) two Tukes are mentioned. The Aars stone in the county of Aalborg has two inscriptions, (one being in the ancient metre called *Fornyrðalag*,) over the chieftain Valtoke, ᚢᚾᛏᚢᚴᛅᚾ (accus.), a name which is formed from *valr*, a hawk or a battlefield, and Tuki, in the same way as Valbrandr, Valborg [2]. The Thordrup stone, district of Hundborg, county of Thisted (L 1507, W 293) mentions a certain Tuku ᛏᚢᚴᚢ (accus.): the same name is, also in accus., spelt Tuko, ᛏᚢᚴᚮ, on the Falsberga stone, parish of Valby, district of Trögd in Upland. On the Tillidse stone, the South district in Laaland (L 1609, W

[1]) O. Worm, Monumenta Danica. [2]) See the disquisition of Finn Magnusen in Antiqu. Tidsskrift 1843-45., p. 182-85, tab. V.

252-3), as also on the Stäby stone, parish of Östmo in Södermanland (L 834, B 673), the name of TOKI, ᛏᚮᚴᛁ, occurs exactly as in the ancient Mss. and on a censer (L 1960) in the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen we find TOKE. Elsewhere Tuki is common. That ᛏᚢᚴᛁ ᛋᛘᛁᚦᚱ, Tuki smith, which is mentioned on the Runic stone near the churchdoor at Grendsteen, county of Viborg, (L 1513, W 313) may possibly be the same person as he from whom we have a lately discovered Runic stone found in the field of Hörning, county of Skanderborg, where we read: Tuki: smiþr: riþ: stin: ift: Þurgisl: Kuþmutar: sun: is: hanum: kaf: kuþ: uk: frialsi; spelt in the ordinary way it runs thus: Túki smiðr reit stein eftir Þorgisl Guðmundarson, er honum gaf guð ok frjálsu: i. e. Toke the smith carved the Runes on the stone after Thorgils Gudmundson who gave him god (converted him to Christianity) and liberty. Besides those monuments which already for some time have been pretty well known, the name of ᛏᚢᚴᛁ also occurs an two monumental stones lately found, the one in the village of Gylling, near the town of Horsens, the other in the field of Fiellerad, parish of Gunderup, county of Aalborg.

However, among the Danish Tokes the most remarkable in history are those of the renowned Fionian family [1]. TÓKI Á FJÓNI, Toke of Funen, had by his wife Thorvör two sons Áki (mod. Dan. Aage) who was killed by the warriors of Harald Blátönn (Blue-Tooth) because the king was jealous of his power, and Palner or Palne. Palne's son was the renowned PALNATOKE of Funen, one of the mightiest men of Denmark at that period. About the year 956 he made an expedition to England, and arrived as far as Bretland (Britain) or Wales, where he married Olöf, a daughter

[1]) See Jómsvíkinga Saga c. 14 sq., Fornmanna Sögur 11, p. 43 sq.

of the Earl Stefner; he thereby obtained the title of an Earl, and one half of the dominions of the Earl Stefner, the government of which he committed into the hands of Biörn surnamed the Briton, who was a fosterbrother to Olöf, and by his counsels had promoted the marriage. By this wife he had a son called Aki, who was a fosterbrother to Svein Tiúguskegg (Double-Beard), the son of King Harald, whom Palnatoke supported in his rebellion against his father. Palnatoke paid frequent visits to his father-in-law in Britain; but for a long time he had his chief residence in Denmark. After the death of Styrbiörn he became chief of Iomsborg and a lawgiver to the Iomsvikings (i. e. the Iomsborg Warriors). Having in the year 985 killed Harald Blue-Tooth, and after Svein Double-Beard (or Split-Beard) was proclaimed king, he returned to Britain, where his father-in-law was dead, and he now took his dominions into his possession. When, accompanied by Biörn the Briton, at the invitation of Svein Double-Beard, he was present at the arval which this king in the year 988 made in memory of his father, one half af Palnatoke's suite were Danes and the other half Britons. At this arval Palnatoke publicly proclaimed himself to be the slayer of king Harald, and then he immediately returned to Britain, and after the death of Olöf he in several summer seasons made war on Scotland and Ireland. His grandson, the youthful Vagn Akason, was received in the company of the Iomsvikings, and fought along with them in the battle of Hiörungavag, in the year 995, where he was taken prisoner, but his life spared. He had a son called Aki who died as a chieftain in Bornholm in 1020; the last mentioned had a son called Vagn who died about the year 1050, and his son Aki who also was a chief in Bornholm died in the year 1080.

Count Pallig or Paling, which no doubt means *Palne*, who had married Harald Blue-Tooth's daughter Gunnhild,

came from Denmark to England, where he with his wife embraced Christianity. He supported sometimes the one and some times the other of the parties at that time contending in England. King Ethelred made him a large present of landed property and of gold and silver, but as the king hated all Danes that were in the country, Palne was prevailed upon to support the party of his countrymen. King Ethelred's order, issued to the different provinces of England, of putting to death all Danes residing there, without any respect to rank, age or sex, was executed in the frightful massacre on the day of St. Briccius the 14th Nov. 1002. Amongst those who were slain on this occasion was also the count Palne, his spouse Gunnhild and their son, being still of tender age. This Palne, most likely was a son of Palnatoke, to whom he had given his father's name, and Suhm is also of this opinion [1]. The name, the matrimonial connection, and the great respect paid to this man immediately on his arrival in England, seem to support this supposition, and he, or his brother, can scarcely have omitted, in compliance with the general custom of the age, to give to one of his sons the name of his renowned parent. That such a Toke is not mentioned in our Northern Mss., may naturally enough be accounted for by the circumstance, that he has been educated in England, and, grown up to man's estate, resided there. If we now suppose such a Toke to have been born in 990, and a son of him (called by the name of Aki, which frequently occurs in the family) 30 years later, viz in 1020, the father would in the year 1050 be 60 years old, and the son 30 years.

Of such a date, or at all events from one of the years 1046-1060 is a deed of gift of the Bishop Ealdred (Wigornensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus) to the friars of the church

[1]) Historie af Danmark 3 p. 337, 350-351.

of St. Mary at Worcester (Uuigornaceastre) by which he gives to the said church a landed estate (*rus*) called Deotinctun, together with a village belonging to it called Ælfsigestun. This estate had, for his life-time, been in the possession of the king's very mighty and wealthy courtier (*praepotens et dives minister regis*) TOKE, who had enjoyed it free of all taxes, excepting such as were payable to the crown, but before his death he had by testament given it to the Bishop on account of the friendship established between them and for the peace of his own soul; but his son *Aki*, a mighty man and also a king's-courtier, wished to set aside his father's testament as invalid, and he claimed the estate as belonging to him by right of succession. However, when the King and the Earl Leofric and the principal men of the province sanctioned the gift by their approbation and consent, Aki, on receiving a compensation of 8 marks of fine gold, made it over to the Bishop, free of his own and every other claim, which might be founded on a right of succession, and by a written deed confirmed by witnesses, it was settled that the Bishop might without let or hindrance give or sell the estate to whom-soever he pleased. This remarkable deed is signed by King Edward and the Queen Eadgid, by the Bishop Ealdred himself, by the chieftains Leofric, Ælfgar and Odda, and by the courtiers Owine, Wagen, Berthric Ælfgarson, Atsor and Osgod. Of the witnesses here mentioned Wagen (i. e. Vagn) probably was of the same kindred, and, as well as Odda, Adzer (Özur) and Asgaut, of Danish descent.

It doubtless is the same TOKI, as the one here mentioned, whose name also occurs in other deeds from the age immediately preceding, e. g. in a document of Canute the Great from the year 1019, where he is called *Toga minister;* in another of the same king from the year 1033, where he is stiled *Tokig miles;* in another by the Bishop

Ædelnod of 1033, who calls him *Tokig*; in another of Hardicanute 1042, who stiles him *Tokig miles;* in another by Edweard 1042: *Toky minister*, and in one of Edweard 1043: *Dokig minister*. Three sons of Toke, (no doubt the same as the one we here have before us), named *Care* (*Kári*), *Ulf* and *Askyl*, are mentioned in deeds from the years 1046 and 1060 [2]. We accordingly here have a Toke of that period which reasonably may be ascribed to the Runic stone found in London, and it is by no means unlikely that it is he and no other person, who is mentioned in the inscription.

The dotted Runes which are used in this inscription, as the ᛏ, which occurs three times, and the ᚠ, which in all likelihood is so to be read in the third word, mark a somewhat later period than that, to which the oldest Runic inscriptions belong that have been preserved, and this tallies well with the period here alluded to.

A peculiarity in these Runes are also the dots or points made on the transversal strokes. Exactly the same we find on one of the Sionhem stones in Gothland (L 1592) according to a drawing lately made by Mr. P. A. Säve and kindly communicated to me by his brother, Mr. Charles Säve, and this inscription, which mentions a man who had been killed in Walachia, may probably also be supposed to have been made in the same century. On these Sionhem stones we also find figures of serpents and flourishes resembling those which we observe on and round about the beasts sculptured on the stone of London. As afore observed, similar designs are found on the monumental stone

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[1]) See Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonici; opera Johannis M. Kemble, Londini t. IV, 1846, p. 75, 138—139, 141—143; t. VI, 1848 p. 194, 195, 197. Cfr. The Saxon Chronicle ed. John Ingram p. 284—285 an. 1079: *Tokig Wiggodes sun.*

of Gorm the Old near Jellinge which is quite proper to be exhibited for the sake of comparison.

In England public attention was first drawn to this monument through a communication with a xylographic illustration made by Mr. Knowles jun. to the Illustrated London News Aug. 28, 1852 (vol. XXI p. 157) wherein he mentions that he intended to have a cast made of the stone destined for the London Society of Antiquaries, "conceiving" as he expresses it "that a double interest attaches to national monuments of an archaic age, when discovered in the most ancient parts of our metropolis." From a Report of this Society we see that Mr. Knowles's communication was delivered to the Society at their meeting Thursday the 20 January 1853 and that a Fellow of the Society, W. D. Sawl Esq., accompanied it by some remarks on the subject-matter of the Runic inscription. He had written letters about it to two friends in Lancashire who very well understood the characters and language of the inscription: both of them agreed in reading the first word INA.

Apparently the Society of Antiquaries of London had not observed, that the Copenhagen Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle as early as the 18th of Sept. 1852 had made some observations on the stone and its inscription, which with the exception of the first name offers no difficulty at all. He founded his remarks on the communication in the Illustr. London News. The first name he, from the first drawing, read EINA, supposing it perhaps might mean the well known Northern name EINAR. We shall of his remarks here insert the following for the satisfaction of our readers:

"This invaluable antiquity is a Northern Rune-stone, probably Danish, raised over the grave of some chieftain. The fantastic dragon-figure resembles some on other Scandinavian monuments, and is strikingly like the forms recur-

ring on many of the ancient gold bracteates occasionally found in the northern countries.

"This monument is unique in its kind, the only Danish Rune-stone known to exist in England, and owes its preservation to its long inhumation. The stile of the Runes etc., shows that it is not of the very earliest class, and still less of the very latest. I should be inclined to place it in the tenth or eleventh century. Perhaps further diggings would have brought out similar treasures, or at least the contents of the tomb itself. It is to be hoped that the original will immediately be presented to our noble national Museum, where it will worthily commence the series of inscribed British grave-monuments. The Danish must have been a powerful element in our old English race, when its chiefs could lie in our metropolis unharmed, and with their native memorials about them. There is nothing in the stone which would lead us to suppose the deceased or his friends to have been Christians. Should the British Museum be refused this magnificent memorial, which I cannot bring myself to believe, it should at least secure a perfect cast, before the surface is injured by accident or the action of the air."

The hope here expressed by the correspondent seems not to have been fulfilled, in as much as a Report of the meeting of the Archæological Institute on the 4th February 1853 states that an "application had been made in vain to obtain this remarkable relic for the British Museum; the present possessor having resolved to have it fixed up in his warehouse, an object of attraction, probably, to customers."

As to the above remark, that "there is nothing on the stone which would lead us to suppose the deceased or his friends to have been Christians", it is with regard to the sculptured figures perfectly just; but here we ought at the same time to observe that the same taste which prevailed in the North during the last period of paganism was

preserved during the earliest times after the introduction of Christianity, as may be proved by numerous relics and even by some that had been made use of in divine service. But as to the inscription on the contrary the matter stands somewhat differently, in as much as we are entitled to suppose that the use of the dotted Runes mark a period, in which Christianity was propagated in the North, or at least the Latin alphabet known in these parts.

From the above observations it will appear, that it is owing to the interest evinced by Mr. Knowles for Northern Archæology that not only the London Society of Antiquaries, but also our Society here in Copenhagen have obtained very accurate casts of this Dano-British monument.

A few remarks on this Runic Stone by Mr. Thorleif Gudm. Repp, a Fellow of our Society, we here insert, supposing them to be of some interest on account of the additional illustration, which they afford of the matter in question.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE END AND OBJECT OF THE LONDON RUNIC STONE.

The Runic Inscription on this stone is very clear and distinct excepting only the two first letters, the stone being broken in this place. At the out-set i. e. as long as I had nothing to found an opinion upon except the drawing in the Illustr. Lond. News, I was indeed inclined, to suppose that the reading of the Correspondent of the Morn. Chron. might, even with regard to these two letters, be correct, although the circumstance that the name of EINA, which scarcely will be found in any Northern or Celtic language, certainly is not favourable to it; but now I think it may be considered as certain, that Charles C. Rafn has, by means of the cast, which of course is more accurate than the drawing, discovered the right reading, viz. KONA : LET:

etc., which owing to the well known niggardliness in letters prevailing in Runic inscriptions, must be understood as if there had been written KONAL or even KONALL : LET : etc. No kind of doubt can be entertained about any of the other letters, not even about the Runic letters ᚾ in the word ᚦᛖᚾᛋᛁ although the stone seems to be a little damaged in this place.

As the Inscription contains a complete sentence or proposition, so it also manifestly is quite entire, and there is no part of it missing: It begins at the limit of the stone's sculptured part, and the reverting line almost reaches the same limit again. There is not room for a word more nor for a third line.

Mr. Knowles's assertion: that the Inscription is entire, is fully proved.

But concise, and clear, and even entire as our Inscription is, it materially differs as to its stile from all Runic inscriptions hitherto known. Its place and posture render it in the highest degree probable that it is in some way or other monumental, and the human skeleton found to the North of it still further confirms such a supposition; yet the person whose memory it was to preserve is not at all mentioned or in any way alluded to. This is as much contrary to custom as it would indeed be contrary to reason, if we suppose that this was the only inscription exhibited on this tomb. The ordinary stile of Runic tomb-inscriptions is quite simple and has in the most essential part of the inscription but few variations. It generally runs as follows: "N. raised this stone after (i. e. in memory of) N.", and if it is a Christian monument the prayer: "God help his soul!" is commonly added. In every case the name of the person entombed is mentioned, and this seems to be so rational, that we cannot easily conceive how it ever could be omitted; such an omission

would make what was intended to be a monument, no monument at all.

The word LEKIA — which means *leggia*, to lay — is also unusual, though I shall not venture to say that it is an *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* in Runic tomb-literature: one thing however is quite clear viz. that if this verb "lay" is supposed to refer to that self same stone, which bears the inscription, it would be quite inappropriate, as appears from the sloping posture of the stone described by Mr. Knowles. Our ancestors would not have said that such a stone was *laid*, but rather *raised*.

If in spite of such improbabilities as we here have hinted at, we still were determined to consider this stone with its inscription as an independent monument, we would have to suppose that KONALL and TUKI (or may be, TUKI and his wife — although this would be very quaint) in their life time caused the stone to be laid or raised to mark a burying ground which they had appropriated to themselves. But such a supposition is the more improbable since the inscription, such as we find it, would be insufficient for such a purpose. Besides it would be difficult to shew in ancient times any example of a similar description.

Autopsy often suggests correct notions, which do not so readily present themselves to the minds of persons placed at a great-distance. Autopsy has clearly suggested to Mr. Knowles the idea of calling this stone a *head stone;* and here we probably have the clue to the true history of the same. It is not at all uncommon, at the present day, neither in England nor in other countries to place a white marble slab at the head of the grave, on which some short inscription is ingraven, and this being put up in a slanting posture, is called a *head stone*; but then there generally is a tomb-stone beside, which is placed horizontally on the top of the grave and covers its whole length. On this

tomb-stone the real epitaph, the date of the deceased one's birth and death etc. are ingraven. But on the white slab there often is sculptured a rhymed verse, and some-times a verse from the Bible. The object of this head-stone clearly is to draw attention to the tomb, lest passengers should pass by it without noticing it. It is highly probable that this is a very ancient custom in Christian church-yards, and that head-stones in London perhaps may be a thousand years old or upwards. The white marble slab, of course, is of more modern date, but the slanting posture of the ancient head-stone and the sculpture on the face of it, probably was deemed sufficient to mark it out for attention.

Here thus we most likely have the true explanation of the origin of this stone. It merely is a head-stone and the verb *lay* refers to the horizontal tomb-stone below, which in the course of eight centuries most likely has been broken into many pieces, and then mouldered to atoms. The position of the inscription on this head-stone, moreover, shews that it was considered to be of a subordinate interest. It is most unobtrusively placed on the *edge* of the stone, and not very easily observed except on closer inspection. No doubt, those who erected the monument in the first place wished to draw public attention to the epitaph on the *tomb-stone* of their friend, and in the second place to record in a manner as modest (we might almost say, as concealed), as possible their own merit in causing the tomb-stone to be laid. This supposition, I believe, may satisfactorily account for the end and object of the London Runic stone.

THORL. GUDM. REPP.

From the paper here inserted it will appear that Mr. Repp as well as also the Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle at Copenhagen coincide with me in the opinion, which the

sculpture on the stone and a careful examination of the Inscription both with regard to palæography and language have led me to, viz. that we here have a Danish monument from the 11th century, or perhaps, more precisely from the time of Canute the Great.

The ground of this opinion however will gain both ampler solidity and clearness by a comparison with an analogous Danish monument, the age of which may be determined with tolerable certainty, and with other Danish inscriptions of the same class. In the Society's "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie" for the year 1852 I have communicated some observations on the tomb-stones of King Gorm the Old and of his Queen Thyre Danabót at Jellinge, and in the Society's Archæological Journal "Antiquarisk Tidsskrift 1852-1854" on some other Runic stones of the same age. Referring those who seek a more precise information on the subject to those papers, I shall here confine myself to a short abstract of them.

The modern village of Jellinge, situate about seven miles to the North of Veile in Jutland, is one of those places which are very early mentioned in the ancient writings. Frode, the son of Fridleif, commenced his reign in Denmark at the time when the Emperor Augustus established peace all over the world: then Christ was born. But Frode being the most mighty and puissant of all kings in the Northern countries ("*á Nordrlöndum*"), the peace was, as far as the Danish tongue was spoken, named after him, and the Northmen call it Frode's peace.[1] No one did then any injury to another, nor was there in those days any thief or robber, so that a gold-ring lay many years untouched on the high-road of Jalangr's heath. Later, viz. in the 2d

[1]) Snorra Edda, skáldskaparmál, c. 43, ed. Arna-Magn. I, p. 374-376; Fornmanna Sögur 11, p. 413.

century, King Vermund, the son of Frode, lived at the manor of Jalang. [1]

In the historical age Jalang still was a royal manor; at the close of the 9th century and during the former half of the 10th King Gorm the Old who first united the Danish states under one sceptre, resided here, and with him his no less illustrious Queen Thyre, who obtained the significant cognomination of *Danabót* i. e. Danes' boot, or blessing, because she by her foresight and good advice saved the country in years of scarcity. Here also after their death both of them were entombed, or rather incairned according to the heathen rite; for Christianity was first introduced during the reign of their son Harald Blue-Tooth. The two cairns, which are of unusual dimensions, corresponding to the rank of the persons over whom they are erected, are still speaking witnesses of yon distant age. They are situate on each side the church of Jellinge: Gorm's cairn on the south of the church-yard, and that of Thyre to the north of it.

Some works executed in the year 1820 occasioned a closer examination of the Queen's cairn, which led to very interesting antiquarian discoveries. The diameter of the cairn was found to be 180 feet; in the middle of it was found a grave-chamber built of wood, whose length was 21 f. 6 inch., the breadth every-where fully 8 feet and the height 4 f. 6 inch. The side-walls were made of oaken planks, the ceiling of round oaken stems of varying thickness, on which the bark partly still remains, and below was a lining of ploughed oaken boards. Behind the side-walls and also below the floor some stamped clayey mould was observed. The floor is made of oaken boards of the thickness of one inch. The inner part of the grave-

[1]) Saxonis Hist. Dan. ed. P. E. Müller p. 163.

chamber where the boards lie length-ways, is divided exactly in the middle, by means of an oaken plank raised on its edge. Thus it seems that the grave chamber was destined to receive two coffins, which were to be placed the one beside the other. It was manifest that the chamber had been opened at some earlier period. There was, however found a chest resembling a round trunk almost entirely consumed by rottenness; this was supposed to have been an outer coffin, and nothing was found in it. Further there was found a silver beaker, two inches high, lined with gold on the inner side, and on the outer side decorated with dragon coils inlaid with gold; two figures of birds made of copper, covered with thin plates of gold; two ornaments of thin copper-plates cut through, with a cross in the middle whose limbs were of equal length; the plates had been gilt on the outside; several things of wood and among these some carved objects in the same taste as the spiral ornaments on the stone of Gorm, which will be mentioned hereafter: these wooden things are painted in black dusky brown and yellow oil colours [1].

On the two cairns there formerly stood the two monumental stones, which we here shall consider more attentively, and which now, for the purpose of being more securely preserved, have been brought over to the churchyard. According to the inscription on the tomb-stone of the Queen, her cairn must under Gorm's direction have been built during her life time, and the stone even placed thereon for the honour of the Queen, and as a memorial of her in time to come, since, according to historical writings, she survived her husband by some years. It is supposed that he died, aged nearly a hundred years, in the year 935, and she, aged seventy years, four years later, viz. in 939. That King Gorm, as many similar examples are to be found

[1]) See Antiquariske Annaler IV 1 p. 61 sq.

in ancient as well as modern times, has caused the grave chamber and cairn to be erected in the queen's life-time, will appear to be the more likely, when we consider the high old age which he attained.

Olaus Worm has in the Monumenta Danica ed. 1643 (p. 331—341) exhibited drawings of both the stones, and added an interpretation of the inscription, which however stood in need of further correction, towards which the draft executed by S. Abildgaard in 1771, and the copy subsequently made in 1811 by M. F. Arendt may be considered as valuable contributions. Finn Magnuson who in the year 1821 visited the place in person, and examined the inscriptions, has in "Antiquariske Annaler"[1] communicated very valuable information respecting them, and also respecting two others which have a reference to these monuments; and E. Rask who at a subsequent period (July 1823) also personally inspected the inscriptions, added some further remarks on the same. This apparatus supplies us with an excellent guidance. I have also made use of the beautiful drawings executed on a large scale by Adam Müller, which are intended to embellish that edition of Saxo which was prepared by his father P. E. Müller, late Bishop of Sealand. These drawings were kindly lent to me by Prof. Velschow, who has undertaken the completion of this edition. Besides I have, in order, if possible, to complete the interpretation of the Inscription, corresponded with the parson of the place The Rev. Charles E. Kemp, who has compared the copy, which had been made, with the Inscriptions themselves, and endeavoured, guided by the hints which I in the course of our correspondence communicated to him, to discover some of the traits, which had been omitted in the draft. His communications have supplied materials to a fuller information respecting these monuments.

[1]) IV 1 p. 100—123, 267—271.

THE TOMB-STONE OF THYRE DANABOOT AT JELLINGE.

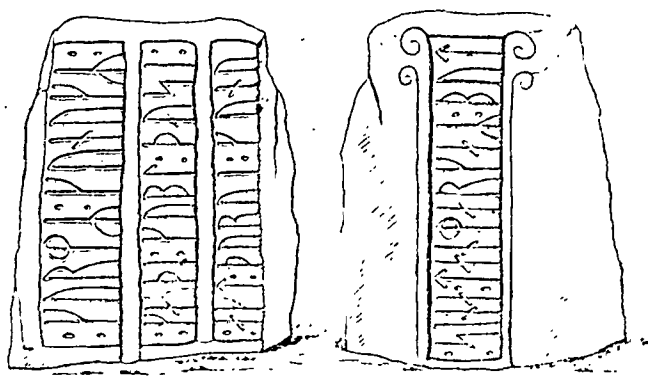
THYRE DANABOOT was according to Icelandic authors a daughter of Klack-Harald, who was an Earl over Jutland [1] or Holstein [2], but in all probability more particularly over Angeln. But Saxo, on the contrary, says that she was a daughter of the English King Ethelred (*Anglorum regis Edelradi filia*). P. F. Suhm has endeavoured to reconcile these statements, by supposing her father Harald to have been a son of Gurmund or Guthrum, a Danish king in East-Anglia, whereby the English descent of Thyre would be established [3]. Ancient historical records agree in praising her excellent qualities, her beauty, her prudence, and masculine firmness. Svein Akason's description of these [4] completely agrees with the statements of the Icelanders. Saxo calls her in his quaint language: "*Daniæ majestatis caput*" and Svein Akason "*regni decus*," or "*decus Daciæ*." The annals call her by that name, by which she still is most commonly distinguished, *Danabót*, the Improver of the Danes, as her oldest son Canute obtained the cognomination of "*Dana-ást*" the Danes' Love. But again in the Icelandic Sagas, as well with Snorre, as in the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason and in the Jómsvikinga Saga she bears the same cognomination as on the tomb-stone of Jellinge "*Danmarkarbót*" i. e. The boot or improvement of Denmark.

The tomb-stone of Thyre Danaboot is of granite, 5 feet in height and 3 in breadth. The foremost side being flat

[1]) Fornmanna Sögur 1, p 2, 115—116. [2]) Jómsvikinga Saga c. 2, Fornm. S. 11 p. 3—8. — [3]) Historie af Danmark 2 p. 438. More probable it is that the father's name, with Saxo, has arisen from a misunderstanding of the word *Angli*, which he has understood as if it meant Englishmen instead of Angles (in South Jutland). This mistake of the word's meaning has been the cause o *Edelradi* being substituted for *Haraldi*. [4]) Sven Agg. hist. reg. Daniæ. Langebek, Script. rer. Dan. 1 p. 28.

has three Runic lines, the other is convex, and has, as it were, three surfaces, and on the middle one of these we find the conclusion of the Inscription, being one line in a broad frame.

The drafts here subjoined exhibit the Inscription complete on both sides [1]:



Written in Latin uncial letters this Inscription has the following appearance:

KURMR : KUNUKR : KARÞI : KUBL : ÞAUSI : AFT:
ÞURVI : KUNU : SINA : TANMARKAR : BUT,

which exhibited in the usual Icelandic orthography would read as follows: "Gormr konúngr gerði kumbl þetta (þessi) eftir Þyri, konu sína, Danmarkar bót" i. e. King Gorm made this cairn in memory of Thyre Denmark's boot, his wife.

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[1]) On the foremost side some traits are now damaged. Such a damage did not exist in Worm's time, whose drawing gives these Runes quite entire.

THE TOMB-STONE OF GORM THE OLD AT JELLINGE.

KING GORM'S tomb-stone is also made of granite; its basis forms a triangle; and the breadth of the one side, containing the chief part of the inscription, has at its base a breadth of 8 feet 10 inches; the other, exhibiting a fantastic figure of an animal, is 5 f. 2 inch. broad; and the third containing an image of Christ 5½ f., the entire stone accordingly has a periphery of 19 feet at the bottom. The stone, the height of which above the ground is 8 f. 2 i. tapers towards the top after the manner of a pyramid.

On the first side we find the greatest part of the Inscription in four lines, which are separated from each other by double horizontal strokes, and at the ends of the lines these are transformed into flourishes, which are continued even above the inscription. The draft exhibited here in the text shews this side of the stone, together with the chief part of the inscription which is continued and completed on the other two sides.

On the second side, whereof a draft is exhibited here tab. II, we see a fantastical quadruped, which has some resemblance to that which is represented on the London monument, although the claws of the latter, in other respects similar, are somewhat better executed. It has like the London animal a protruding sideward bent tongue with antlers raised on high. The tail is at the end divided into four branches: about the neck and body and tail of the beast there is twisted a complete figure of a serpent with head and tail.

The second side is separated from the third by a kind of a double Gothic column, which is formed of two twistings. These further develop themselves in continuous windings and twistings, which serve as a frame for the sculpture exhibited on the two sides. Below this frame the

Inscription is continued in one line on the second side and it also concludes by one line on the third.

On the third side, of which a drawing is exhibited tab. III, there is represented a bearded figure of a man, with a cruciform glory round his head. This unquestionably is an image of Christ; the open arms seem not to be extended but only indicative. The image is dressed in a close fitted short tunic, and the legs seem to be uncovered. Twistings which resemble the twistings of a serpent, although here no serpent's head is visible, surround the figure on all sides and inclose the body as well as the arms.

The taste in which these representations are executed is the very same that prevails in the several objects found in the tomb of the Queen Thyre. The execution of these monumental stones thereby indicates the same age as that in which the funeral exequies were performed.

The inscription on the first side has by earlier inquirers been almost quite satisfactorily explained.

The words (ᛏᚼ or) ᛁᛏᚼ ᚴᚱᚴ in the fourth line have been subject to a variety of interpretations. Finn Magnuson, with whom Rask seems to have agreed, makes ᚴᚱᚴ, sór, an imperfect tense of *sverja*: *who swore*, viz. who made an oath that he would introduce Christianity into the country. N. M. Petersen [1] supposes that this word must be sᴇR, *sèr*, *sibi*; and P. A. Munch [2] that ᴀs is the verb *is*, *er* and not the relative pronoun. The mode of expression in these various interpretations does not however appear to me to be very probable. When we consider the first letter ᛁ, we are led to believe that in this place there is an error in the carving, so that we here ought to read ᛏᚼ; this probably has occasioned that the Rune-carver, for making

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[1]) Danmarks Historie i Hedenold, 2, p. 153. [2]) Kortfattet Fremstilling af den ældste nordiske Runeskrift, p. 38.

the sense more plain, repeated the relative, and added ᛋᚨᚱ, SÁR, viz *sá er*.

The inscription in the line below the animal figure on the second side has been read before, and is subject to no doubt.

But of the concluding line on the third side below the human figure only the first word, the first letter of the second word, and the last word have been exhibited; of the 8 or 9 Runes in the middle only some faint traces were observed, which however did not afford any basis for a true reading.

Our first Runologist, and after him our first Northern Linguist, have, as afore observed, made the monument itself a subject of a careful examination; but neither of them ventured to fill up the blank, and, as far as I know, nobody else either before or after them. An experiment therefore to find out what there must have been carved was likely to turn out very hazardous, and to afford but a small hope of a satisfactory result. At the same time it appeared to me, more particularly since this monument is one of the most important in Denmark, that this inscription ought not to be exhibited without making a new attempt. Erudition and acumen in interpreting a difficult text, is not always combined with an eye that is capable of discerning half worn and antiquated tracings; add to this that by a continual and often repeated survey of such an inscription which is almost half effaced, in a variety of light, not only when the light of the sun falls upon it, but also after sunset, we may possibly have the satisfaction to discern a few before undiscovered traces. In this respect mouldering lapidary inscriptions resemble the bleached and worn out writing in membranes and in old paper volumes, where, by frequently repeated attempts, we sometimes can read much even with certainty, which at first was deemed entirely illegible.

Following this rule I desired the Rev. Charles E. Kemp

to make repeated attempts at discovering some traces. With the greatest readiness he afforded me this very important assistance, which I greatly appreciate. He surveyed the inscription at different hours of the day, and in different light, also after sunset, and then he communicated to me such traits as he imagined he had discovered with certainty. Before I had not ventured on any conjecture, but supposing that the second word, which with certainty could be discerned to begin with a ᛏ, must be a verb, I next requested him to examine whether this word might not be ᛏᚢᚴ; I supposed that the word must be *tók* in case it could not be read ᚢᛁᛏ (*lèt*). He described very exactly every visible trace, and made it manifest that this conjecture could not be right, and I was since, by the drawing and descriptions of the traces, led to another interpretation.

The inscription of this line was partly seen and partly faintly discerned to be as follows:

After these statements it does not appear to be a very hazardous conjecture to fill up the places 10—12 by ᚢᚴᛏ and to read the whole line thus:

AUK : TANAFULK : AT : KRISTNO

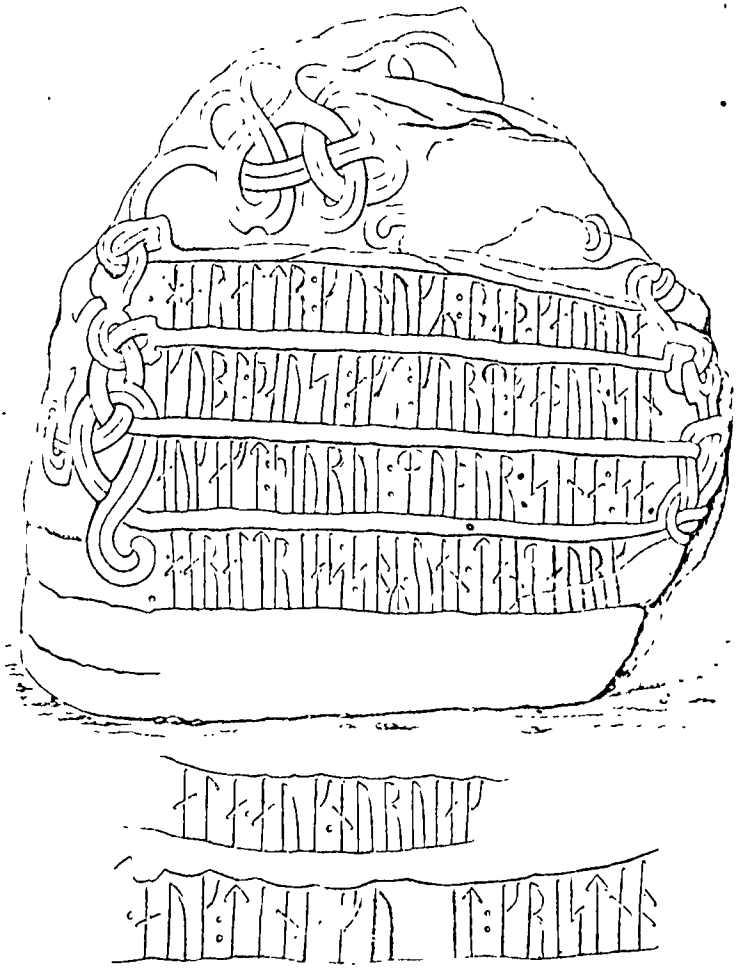
If we suppose that KRISTNO is the pres. tense infin. of the verb, we are led to an interpretation, which in my opinion seems probable. This supposition is strengthened by the circumstance that such an infinitive actually occurs in another Runic inscription, viz on the Frösö stone in Jæmteland (L 1085, B 1112, W 522), where it is stated about Austmod Gudfastson (ᛅᚢᛋᛏᛘᚮᚦᛅ ᚴᚢᚦᚠᛆᛋᛏᛋᛆᚾ ᛋᚴᚱ) ᛅᚦᚦ ᚢᛁᛏ ᚴᚱᛁᛋᛏᚾᚴ ᛁᚦᛏᛆᚢᚦᚦᛏ: HON LÈT KRISTNO JOTALONT, where accordingly ᚴ occurs in more words than one instead of the usual ᛏ or ᛆ: "he caused Jamtaland to be christened." But it is not at all uncommon that ᚴ in

Danish as well as in Swedish Runic inscriptions is used instead of ᛅ for denoting the sound of *a* or *á*, and this is no doubt here the case as in the word ᚼᚱᛅᚾ above, if my interpretation is adopted.

If this reading is approved, it will be observed that no verb occurs in the final line by which the infinitive AT : KRISTNO can be governed; we are thus sent back to the verb VANN, the last which occurs on the chief-side af the inscription; *vinna* denotes to vanquish, to conquer, to get into one's power, *superare*, *occupare*, *potiri*, and in this sense it here has the two accusatives "Danmaurk ala" and "Nurviag" (thus on a Runic stone in Gestrikland, it is stated about Ibiurn that he "vant Selalant ala"); but it also denotes to effect, to obtain, to accomplish, *efficere*, *assequi*; and in this sense it is here used with the concluding infin. VANN AT KRISTNA is quite the same as *kristnaði*, exactly as in Vegtamskviða in the older Edda (IV 5-6) *vann at vinna eið* means the same as *vann eið*, did make an oath, and in the Skáldhelga rímur which are among the oldest poems in this kind of verse: *vann leita* is the same as *leitaði*. In Rekstefja, a poem which the bard Hallarsteinn in the 11th century composed about the king Olaf Tryggvason, he says of that king "*vann kristnat Ísland, Grœnaveldi ok Eyjar*" i. e. succeeded in christening Iceland, Greenland and the Isles, where the verb-*vann* is found with the participle in the very same sense. It is credible that the Rune-carver wished to make use of the participial form, which we thus find has been used in the same connection and sense in or near his own age; but for this there was no room in the line, and he has therefore been obliged to limit himself to express the same thing by the infinitive.

Having premised these observations I shall subjoin a drawing of the chief-side of the inscription on a reduced scale, and below it on the same scale the two concluding

lines from the other sides, in order that the whole of this remarkable inscription may be seen collected in one place:



The entire inscription, I, with reference to the aforewritten statements, do read as follows, substituting uncials for Runes:

HARALDR : KUNŪGR : BAÞ : GAURUA : KŪBL : ÞAUSI : AFT : GURM : FAÞUR : SIN : AUK : AFT : ÞIURUI : MUÞUR :

SINA : SA : HARALDR : ÞAS : SA'R : VAN : DANMAURK : ALA : AUK : NURVIAG : AUK : DANAFULK : AT : KRISTNO.

This spelt in the ordinary Icelandic way reads as follows, and at the same time it may be observed that in many of the oldest Icelandic Mss. the words "baþ, faþur, Danmaurk" are spelt quite in the same way as in this inscription:

Haraldr konúngr bað görva kumbl þessi eftir Gorm, föður sinn, ok eftir Þyri, móður sína, sá Haraldr es (sá er) vann Danmörk alla ok Norveg ok Danafólk at kristna. "King Harald caused these cairns to be made after (in memory of) Gorm his father and after Thyre his mother, that Harald who conquered the whole of Denmark and Norway and (executed that work) to christen the Danish people.

My aforewritten observations on the tomb-stone of King Gorm and more particularly the reading by which I, assisted by Mr. Kemp, have endeavoured to fill up the blank in the line on the third side, have afforded Mr. Repp an opportunity of publishing his reading and interpretation of the inscription, he having previously communicated the same to me. It is only in the latter part of the inscription that Mr. Repp's reading differs from those which have been published before; this latter part Mr. Repp reads as follows: sá Haraldr as sori [1] uan Danmaurk ala auk Nuruiag auk Danafulk (or Danakun) at kristna, i. e. "that Harald who made an oath the whole of Denmark, and Norway, and the Danish people to christen.

I shall here observe that in the word Danafulk (or

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1) This ᛁ Mr. Repp supposes to be transposed from its right place by the stone-carver's blunder and to have been put after the first ᚱ in the line instead of the second: at the same time he does not deny, that there may be such an ancient form of the noun as SOR or S.ER, without any I; but he demonstrates that some such *noun* here is absolutely necessary.

Danakun) my reading DANA which I consider as certain, is the main point : the latter part may as well be read KUN as FULK, unless FULK be preferred. Worm has in his draft a ᚠ and not an ᚡ.

In considering the language of these inscriptions, we ought to observe that the scanty Runic alphabet, wherein one character is used for several kindred sounds, which otherwise are distinguished, e. g. ᚴ for K and G, ᛏ for T and D, gives to the words at first sight an appearance greatly deviating from the usage of ordinary orthography. When the inscriptions are transscribed according to the rules of orthography more particularly prevailing in the most ancient MSS, we will easily discover that the language in Denmark has at yon period been the very same as that which through the Eddas and the Sagas has been transplanted to Iceland, and there preserved through centuries till the present time, the same words, and, excepting a few varieties of dialect, the same grammatical forms. This language which in ancient times extended over (Saxland,) Denmark, Sweden, Norway and over a part of England,[1] the Icelanders, as is well known, in remotest antiquity called the Danish tongue (DÖNSK TÚNGA), subsequently also very often Norse or the Northern language (NORRŒNA).

The Danish inscriptions here exhibited belong to the age of Gorm the Old and to that of Harald Blue-tooth, accordingly to the tenth century, and they may be taken as specimens of the language here in Denmark at that time. The language of the Runic stone in London is the same Danish tongue, and the characters also are of the same description. The resemblance of the taste prevailing in the sculpture I have above adverted to.

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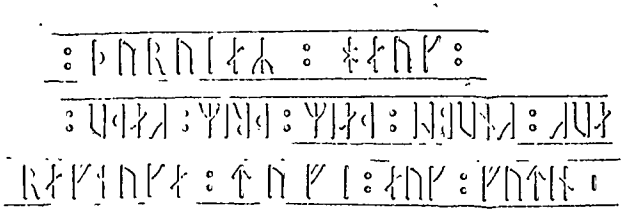
[1]) "ok gekk sú túnga um Saxland, Danmörk ok Svíþjóð, Noreg ok um nokkurn hluta Englands," Fornmanna Sögur XI. p. 112.

These and the following Danish monuments are of such importance in themselves, even independently of this comparison, that it is but fair and reasonable, that they should be more exactly known, also beyond the boundaries of the North, more particularly in England, since they belong to the age of the grandfather of Canute the Great, and partly refer to him.

THE BEKKE STONE.

Bekkè is situate $3^1/_2$ Danish miles NW of Kolding. The stone is a hard stone of the most common kind, and its natural form is quite unchanged. It is 4 feet 7 inches long and three feet broad. The inscription [1] is cut *βουστροφηδὸν* lengthways in the stone, beginning at the bottom and proceeding upwards:



with Latin uncials:

RAFNUNGA : TUFI : AUK : FUNDINN : AUK : KNUBLI : ÞAIR : ÞRIR : GARÞU : ÞURVIAR : HAUG :

spelt in the ordinary Icelandic way: Rafnúnga-Tófi ok Fundinn ok Knúbli, þeir þrír gördu Þyrviar (Þyrar) haug, i. e. "Rafnunga-Tofi and Fundinn and Knubli (Knyfli), those three made the cairn of Thyre". These are names of three men who erected the cairn of Thyre, no doubt of Thyre Danabot.

[1]) See the inquiries of Finn Magnuson and Rask respecting the stones of Bekke and of Læborg in Ant. Annaler IV, 1 p. 111-119, 268-269, also the drawing tab. II, fig. VI, VII.

TÓFI is a very ancient name here in the North, and a warrior of the name of Tovi is mentioned even among the champions of Sigurd Ring at Bravellir. It occurs on several Runic stones. The name is also found among the Danes in England in the age of Canute and of the immediately subsequent kings; several times it occurs in diplomas of that age, being spelt in different ways[1] as: Tofi, Tobi, Tovi, Tofig, Tofyg; among these we find Toui whita, Toui reada and Toui pruda.

RAFNÚNGAR is the name of a race or lineage from the founder Rafn, just as Ýnglíngar from Ýngvi, Skjöldúngar from Skjöldr, Gjúkúngar from Gjúki, Knýtlíngar from Knútr, Sturlúngar from Sturla. The Tofi here mentioned must have belonged to this line or been their servant. On the next mentioned stone the name Rhafnúngar is spelt with an aspirate after the R, while the root, according to the orthography commonly used, has the aspirate before the R: Hrafn.

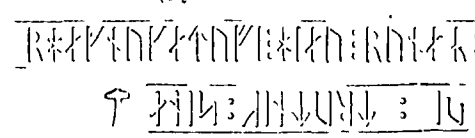
The word ᚴᚾᛏᚦᚢᚾ must be completed by an ᚱ, and read ᚴᚾᛏᚱᚦᚢᚾ; the liquids are sometimes omitted, and must be inserted.

THE LÆBORG STONE.

LÆBORG is situate about $3^3/_4$ Danish miles WNW from Kolding. The Runic stone has been blasted from the top of a larger rock, which is 12 feet long, and more than 3 feet broad, and lies a little way to the North of the church. As in the case of the Runic stone itself which has been brought to the churchyard, orders have been issued that the rock also should be preserved. The inscription is cut in two lines to be read *þorgrǫfr hǫ-ðór*. At the conclusion of the first line there is the sign of Thor's hammer, as it is called, carved lengthways, and

1) Cod. dipl. aevi Sax., op. J. M. Kemble t. IV p. 3, 31, 34, 47, 67; t. VI p. 191.

at the conclusion of the second another cut transversally in the line. The height of the Runic letters in the first line is $8^1_{\ 4}$ inch and of those in the second $7^1_{\ 2}$ inch, and the depth of the cut is proportionate to this height. These Runic letters accordingly are some of the most conspicuous we know.



With Latin uncials:

RHAFNUNGA-TUFI : HIAU : RUNAR : ÞASI : AFT :
ÞURVI : DRUTNING : SINA :

Spelt in the common way: Hrafnúnga-Tófi hjó runar þessar (þærsi) eftir Þyri drottning sína.

This man, who, as we have seen from the Bekke stone, had had a hand in the erection of queen Thyre's cairn, has been desirous of also doing honour to her memory by an inscription on the large rock lying near Læborg.

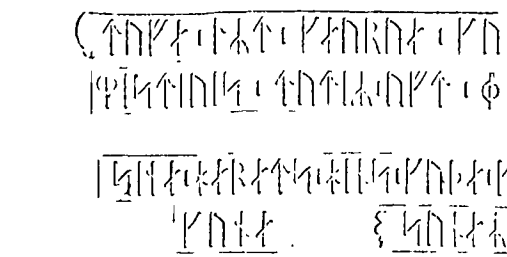
Worm and some others have, no doubt led by this inscription, supposed that this large rock has been the same as that, which, according to the statement of Saxo,[1] Harald Blue-tooth caused by the joint powers of men and oxen to be removed by the crew of his fleet from the shore of Jutland, with the intention of placing it on his mother's tomb. The distance of thirty four English miles from the shore of Koldingfiord to Jellinge seems, however, to be rather long.

THE SÖNDERVISSING STONE.

SÖNDERVISSING is situate $2^3_{\ 4}$ Danish miles to the west of Skanderborg, and at a distance a little longer to the NW of Horsens. The stone is 8 feet high, 4 feet broad, and 7 feet thick. The inscription consists of three

[1]) Historia Daniæ, ed. P. E. Müller p. 489.

complete lines, with a fourth supplementary and final line[1]; it runs as follows:



In Roman capitals it reads thus:

TUFA : LÈT : GAURVA : KUmBL : MISTIVIS : DUTTIR: UFT: MUÞUR : SINA : KUNA : HARALDS : HINS : GUÞA : GURMSSUNAR,

and in the ordinary Icelandic spelling:

Tófa lèt görva kumbl:	Tofa caused the cairn to be made:
Mistivis dóttir,	the daughter of Mistivi,
eftir móður sína,	after her mother,
(kona) Haralds hins góða	the wife of Harald the Good
Gorms sonar.	Gorm's son.

TUFA is a woman's name of frequent occurrence in the ancient history of the Northern countries, more particularly in that of Denmark; it is also found in several Runic inscriptions. In the oldest redaction of the Saga of Hervör[2] the wife of the berserk Angantyr, a daughter of

[1]) A description more at large of these three Runic stones is to be found in Antiquarisk Tidsskrift 1852-1854. The Söndervissing stone has been particularly noticed by P. G. Thorsen in a monography published by him in 1839; see also Jahrbücher des Vereins für meklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde XII p. 121-135; XVI p. 173-174; 203. — [2]) See my editions of the Saga in the Fornaldar Sögur Norðrlanda I p. 519 and in Antiquités Russes et Orientales I p. 121.

the Earl Biartmar of Aldeigiuborg, is called Tófa. Also in ancient historical records this name occurs; and more particularly the beautiful Tofa, the leman of Valdemar Atterdag (New-day) is celebrated in traditionary tales and popular ballads, where she commonly is called Tovelille. She is supposed to be of Rugian origin and of a Podebuskian descent: the Podebusks were descendants of the old princes of Rugen of Slavish ancestry.

MISTIVIS, gen. of Mistivi, which much resembles the Vendic Mistui, or as Šafařik calls him Mestiwoj I, a name of a prince who ruled over the Obotrits of Meklenburg in the years 960-985, who was converted to Christianity with many of his subjects, but subsequently apostatized. The name is a genuine Slavic name and probably denotes an *avenger* (from Vendic mest, Russ. МСТЪ. revenge).

Harald the Good Gorm's son no doubt is Harald Bluetooth (*blátönn*). His mother in law has probably resided and died in Denmark, and her daughter Tofa has caused a cairn to be erected over the bones of her mother with this monumental stone on the top. Harald's father in law cannot, as some authors have supposed, have been the aforenamed prince of the Obotrits Mistui, or Mestiwoj I; but he most likely has been his grandfather, who also may have been an Obotritian prince.

RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS IN WHICH THE WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE ALLUDED TO.

THE Danish Runic stone found in London naturally recalls in our remembrance those Runic stones in the Northern countries on which England and the Western countries have been mentioned. These, like so many other relics of antiquity, are irrefragable testimonials of the fre-

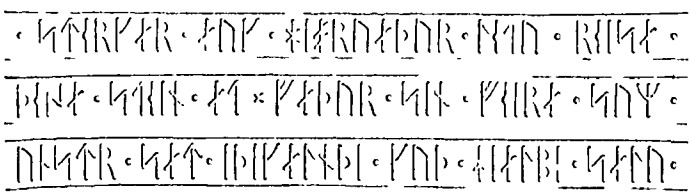
quent visits paid by the men of the North to the British Isles. These relics, no doubt, particularly deserve to be brought into notice, and to be made subjects of inquiry, and this is more especially the case with the Runic stones, in as much as almost every one of these requires a very careful examination, when certain results are to be founded on the inscriptions which they exhibit. Many have, in the course of time, unfortunately been lost; but in as far as they still are preserved, more accurate copies of the inscriptions than hitherto have been published ought to be procured. I here only propose to lay before the antiquarian reader a new edition of those inscriptions hitherto known, in which the Western countries are mentioned, hoping that such an edition may be the means of occasioning a careful examination of all these monumental stones and a more searching investigation into the contents of the inscriptions, whereof the results might suitably be communicated to the public at large in the "Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie", a periodical work which enjoys a vast circulation. This new edition must, with due regard to space, be framed on a plan of the most concise brevity, and it is laid before the public with no other pretentions than that of occasioning a more careful investigation of these inscriptions.

These Runic stones are here arranged according to the places where they have been found, or where they still are found. They exhibit an irrefragable proof of the intercourse between these places and the British Isles in the days of yore.

In this edition I have chiefly used for my guidance J. H. Liljegren's Runlära p. 108-110 and the "Run-Urkunder" edited by the same author (here bearing the quotation-mark L), also J. Göranssons Bautil (B) and Worm's Monumenta Danica (W). The Runic inscriptions are given

with such exactness as is attainable by the existing types; after the Runic text the inscriptions are exhibited in their own orthography with Roman capitals, and partly supplied with such amendments as may be considered certain; then follows the same inscription with the ordinary Icelandic spelling, and last of all the translation.

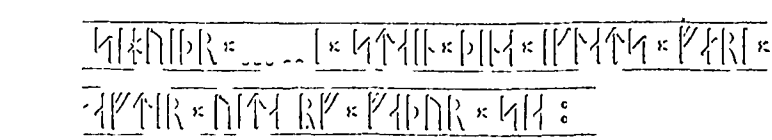
1. UPLAND (Tiundaland, härad or district of Häbo, parish of Häggeby): in the northern cellar wall of Kålstad, in serpentine windings, surrounds a decorated cross. (L 50, B 349).



STERKAR : AUK : HIORVARÞR : LETU : REISA : ÞENSA : STEIN : AT : FAÞUR : SINN : FEIRA : SUM : VASTR : SAT : AÞ : INGLANÞI : GUÞ : HIALBI : SALU : Styrkár and Hjörvarðr létu reisa þenna stein at föður sinn Feira, sem vestr sat á Englandi; guð hjálpi sálu: "Styrkar and Hiörvard caused this stone to be raised after their father Feiri, who resided westward in England; God help the soul."

The name Feiri is uncommon (FIIRI, Geiri?). This man has been resident in England, and his sons Sterkar and Hiörvard must, after his decease in that country, have erected him this monumental stone for the preservation of his memory at home.

2. — — (—, district of Vaksala, parish of Old Upsala): in the church, on the altar. The inscription forms a serpentine band, surrounding a large erect double cross. The head of the serpent is visible, but not the tail, because a piece of the stone is broken off. (L 184, B 387).

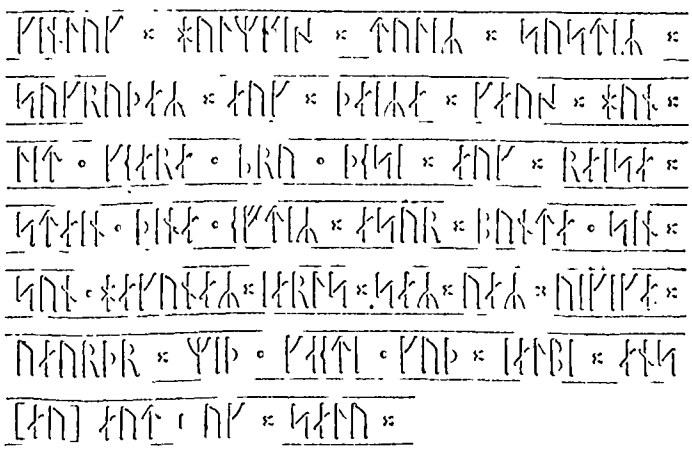


SIHVIÞR : REISTI : STAIN : ÞINNA : INGLANTS : FARI : AFTIR : VITARF : FAÞUR SINN : Sigviðr *reisti* stein þenna, Englandsfari eftir Viðarf föður *sinn*: "Sigvid, the England seafarer raised this stone after Vidarf *his* father."

The name Sigviðr (the gainer of victory, or the conqueror) is found on many Runic stones, most frequently spelt as here with an ✱, but also very often ᛋᛁᚴᚢᛁᚦᚱ.

Here it may be observed, that in Old Upsala stones are found which exhibit curious glyptical representations of ships (B 380, 382). On one of these, said to be fixed in the churchdoor in 1138, a large cross may be seen, sculptured in the ship. Sigvid who has resided at this place, has on account of his voyages to England obtained the significative surname of ENGLANDSFARI, as many Northmen were named after the places which they visited, when these were remarkable or very far remote, e. g. the Norwegian king Sigurd Jórsalafari (traveller to Jerusalem) and in a subsequent age the Icelander Biörn Jórsalafari (Grönlands hist. Mindesmærker I p. 110-122); also Viðbiurn Grikfari (traveller to Greece) in the Vedyxe stone in the parish of Danmark, Upland (L 211, cfr. L 416); but more particularly after the places which they were in the habit of visiting for commercial purposes, as for example the Icelander Rafn Hlymreksfari, so called on account of his voyages to Limerick (Antiquitates Americanæ p. 211), and also Rafn Hólmgarðsfari, who resided at Tönsberg, on account of his visits to Holmgard or Novgorod (Antiquités Russes et Orientales t. II, p. 221-223); Þórir Englandsfari (þáttr af Gunnari þiðrandabana, see Laxdælasaga, ed. Arna-Magnæana p. 364, 370).

3. —— (ATTUNDALAND, district of Bro, parish of Bro): in the church wall without the western door. The inscription forms two curved bands, and these have a zigzag shape below. There is an outer and an inner band; within the inner there is a cross in a slanting posture. (L 312, B 267, cfr. N. R. Broeman, Undersökning om våre Nordiske Runstenars Ålder, after Saga af Ingvari viðförla, Stockholm 1762, p. 105-125).



GINLUG : HULMGIS : DUTIR : SUSTIR : SUGURÞAR : AUK : ÞAIRA : GAUTS : HUN : LIT : GEARA : BRU : ÞESI : AUK : RAISA : STAIN : ÞINA : EFTIR : ASUR : BUNDA : SINN : that which follows is cut in the inner band: SUN : HAKUNAR : JARLS : SA'R : VAR : VIKINGA : VAURÞR : MIÞ : GAETI : GUÞ : HJALBI : HANS : AUND : UK : SALU. :

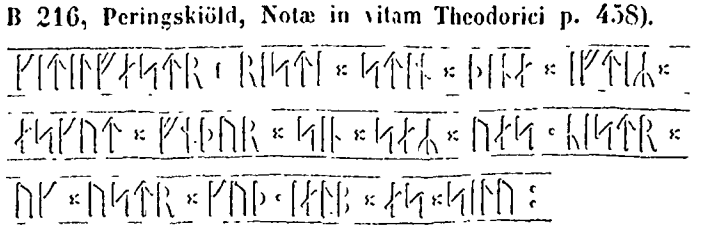
Gunnlaug Holmgeirs dóttir, systir Sugruðar (Sigurðar) ok þeirra Gauts, hún lèt göra brú þessa ok reisa stein þenna eftir Asur bónda sinn, son Hákonar jarls, sá er var víkingavörðr með Gauti; guð hjálpi hans önd ok sálu; "Gunnlaug, the daughter of Holmgeir, sister to Sigurd and to Gaut (and his brothers), she caused this bridge to be made, and this stone to be raised after Asur her husband, the son of the Earl Hakon, who was (went out as) a viking-

guard (i. e. protector against vikings) together with Gaut; God help his spirit and soul!"

GAETR, no doubt, is an other spelling, or misspelling for GAUTR. This Gaut, who accordingly derived his origin from this place, the parish of Bro, we find by the Gosinge stone, (which see below *sub* n° 14,) has made an expedition to the Western countries, in which beside that Asur, who is mentioned here, Svein of Gosinge and probably also Ubbe or Ubber from the parish of Ludgo in Södermanland and likewise Thialfe of Landaryd in Eastgötland accompanied him. As that Gaut who is mentioned twice in the inscription must be one and the same person, Asur must have been his brother in law. In Gaut's expedition Asur had a peculiar command as *vikingarördr*, i. e. one who was to take care of vikings, search out vikings or corsairs.

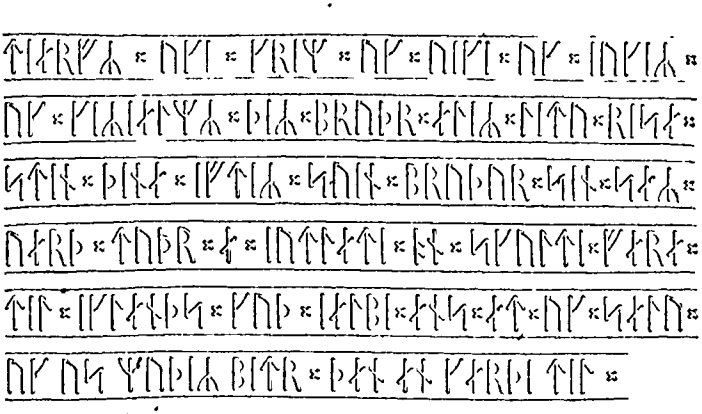
To find out who the EARL HAKON mentioned here may have been, demands a separate inquiry. The erection of a bridge enhanced the importance of the monument, and it has also been of some sacred import. On several Runic stones (e. g. L 644, 645) we find it expressly stated, that such a bridge was made for the soul of the departed. Possibly the name of the parish of Bro derives its origin from this very bridge, which was erected in memory of a man of distinction in the place.

4. —— (—, district of Långhundra, parish of Närtuna): in the fields of Udby; the inscription forms a curved band, and above it is placed a cross standing upright. (L 587, B 216, Peringskiöld, Notæ in vitam Theodorici p. 458).



KITILFASTR : RISTI : STIN : ÞINA : IFTIR : ASGUT : FAÞUR : SIN : SA'R : VAS : VISTR : UK : USTR : GUÞ : IALBI : HANS : SILU : : Ketilfastr *r*eisti st*e*in þenna eftir Ásg*a*ut, föður sin*n*, sá er vas vestr ok *a*ustr; guð *h*jálp*i* *h*an*s* sálu: "Ketilfast raised this stone after Asgaut his father, who made voyages westward (i. e. to England) and eastward (i. e. to Gardarike or Greece); God help his soul!"

5. ——— (—, district of Lyhundra, parish of Husby): at the south-west cŏrner of the church. (L 608, Acta lit. Sveciæ, Upsaliæ 1730, 3 p. 85.)

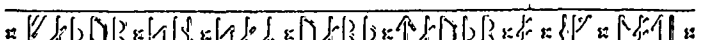


TIARFR : UK : GRIMR : UK : VIKI : UK : IUGIR : UK : GIRHJALMR : ÞIR : BRUÞR : ALLIR : LITU : RISA : STIN : ÞINA : IFTIR : SVIN : BRUÞUR : SIN : SA'R : VARÞ : DUÞR : A : JUTLANDI : ON : SKULDI : FARA : TIL : INGLANÞS : GUÞ : IALBI : HANS : AND : UK : SALU : UK : GUÞS : MUÞIR : BITR : ÞAN : HAN : GARÞI : TIL : Tjarfr (Djarfr) ok Grim*r* ok Viki (Vígi) ok Jógeir (or Jólgeir) ok Geir*h*jálmr, þeir bræðr al*l*ir lètu r*e*isa st*e*in þen*n*a eftir Svein bróður sin*n*, sá *e*r varð d*a*uðr á Jótlan*d*i en skyldi fara til I*n*glands; guð *h*jálpi *h*ans önd ok sálu ok *gu*ðs móðir betr enn *h*ann gördi til: "Diarf and Grim and Vigi and Jogeir (*or* Jolgeir) and Geirhealm, all these brothers caused this stone to be raised after Svein their

brother, who died in Jutland, but was going to England; God and the mother of God help his spirit and soul better than his deeds deserved." (cfr. L 949, B 724.)

This Svein, whose five brothers erected this monument to his memory, died in Jutland, being then on his travel to England. In the armamentary of the same church there is a monumental stone over a man who died in Greece.

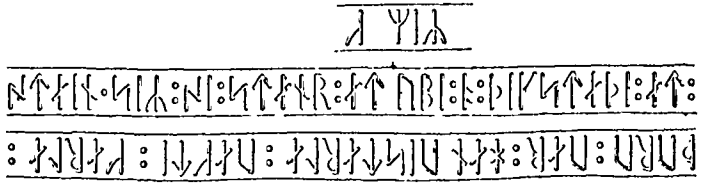
6. ——— (FJERDHUNDRALAND, district of Lagunda, parish of Hjellstad): in the church wall; the inscription in a complete serpent with head and tail, surrounding a cross which stands upright. The beginning is probably cut on that side of the stone which is hid in the wall. (L 764, B 625.)



: FAÞUR : SIN : SA'R : VARÞ : DAUÞR : O : ENGLONDI : föður sinn sá er varð dauðr á Englandi: "his father who died in England."

7. SÖDERMANLAND. (district of Rönö, parish of Ludgou): Aspa, between the Thing hill (Assize hill) and the bridge.

The first eight words are cut in a band on one side of the stone; the rest is placed on the other side in three bands, and in the two first of these the inscription is cut *βουστροφηδόν*. (L 868, B 807.)



ÞURA : RAISÞI : STIN : ÞINSI : AT : UBI : BUANDA : SIN : STAIN : SIR : SI : STANÞR : AT : UBI : O : ÞINGSTAÞI : AT : ÞURU : VAR : HAN : VISTARLA : VAKTI : KARLA....MIR G...

Þóra reisti stein þenna at	"Thora raised this stone
Ubði bónda sinn:	over Ubbe her husband":
Steinn þersi	"This stone
stendr at Ubbi	stands at Ubbi
á þingstaði	in the assize-place
at Þóruvar;	at Thoruvar;
hann vestarla	he westward
vakti karla,	roused warriors
(er hann) með G(auti)	(when he) along with G(aut)
(gunni háði).	(waged war)."

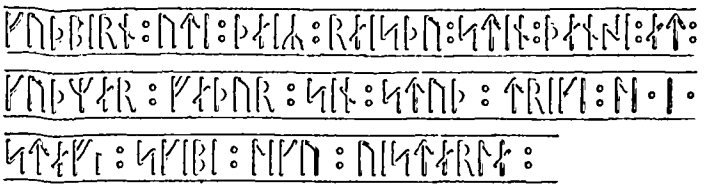
In the third band only three complete Runic letters are legible in the drawing of Bautil, but it is indicated by strokes that several could not be read at all, and this band has in all probability contained a complete distich, and the whole has made a stanza of eight lines fornyrðalag. It is very likely that after ᛘᛁᚴ in the third line ᚴᛅᚢᛏᛁ (Gauti) has followed, and that this Ubbe has been one of the men who followed Gaut in his expedition to the Western countries.

The name THORUVAR may have denoted the landing-place of Thora (*var* being the same as the Iceland. *vör*, gen. *varar*), which perhaps got its name from Ubbe's widow.

I have corresponded with the parson of the place, the Rev. Charles R. Graff, about this stone, and he has furnished me with a new copy of the inscription, adding the information that it appears from incontrovertible signs, that the Baltic in times of yore has been conjoined with those lakes which now lie between the coast and the place, and that there accordingly was navigable water all the way up to Aspa, which satisfactorily explains the local name Thoruvar, or Thora's landing-place. THURA in the fourth line might also be taken as the name of a locality only, and VAR be referred to the words that follow.

8. ——— (—, parish of Råby): at Sponga; the inscription in a curved band with a crossband below, which surrounds

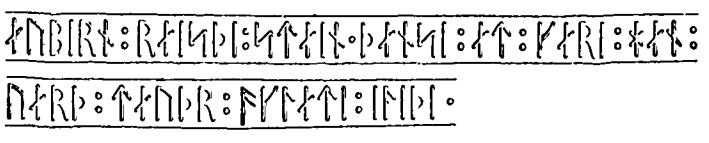
a decorated cross, resting on a ship, below which there are some Runic signs; but these it will be difficult to interpret. (L 884, B 822).



GUÞBIRN : AUK : UDDI : ÞAIR : RAISÞU : STIN : ÞANSI : AT ? GUÞMAR : FAÞUR : SIN : STUÞ : TRINGILIGA : I : STAF . . : SKIPI : LIGU : VISTARLA :

Guðbjörn (Gunnbjörn) *ok* Odd*i*,' þeir reistu stein þenna at Guðmar (Gunnmar), föður sinn, *er* stóð drengili*ga* í staf*ni* *í* skipalegu vestarla: "Gudbiörn *and* Odde, they raised this stone after Gudmar their father who stood trustily at the poop in the harbour westward (much doubtful in the latter part)."

9. ——— (district of Jönåker, parish of Bärbo): Täckhammar; a part of the inscription in a band which forms a cross, and an other part without the same. (L 892; I. H. Schröder, Ad Runographiam Scandinaviæ Accessiones novæ, p. 2-5.)

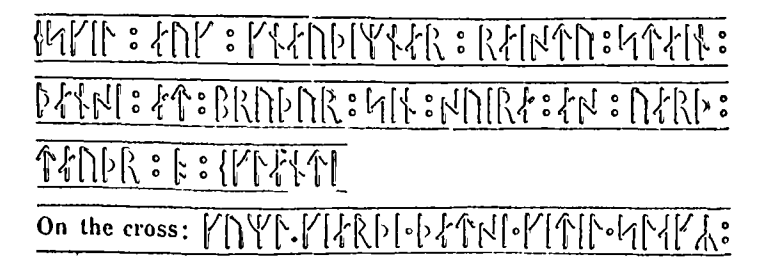


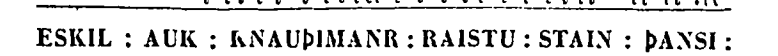
AUBIRN : RAISÞI : STAIN · ÞANSI : AT : KARI : HAN : VARÞ : DAUÞR : A : ENGLANDI : I LIÞI.

Eybjörn reisti stein þenna at Kári; hann varð dauðr *á Engl*andi í liði (Liði): "Aubiörn raised this stone after Kar; he died in England onboard the ship (*or* in Leith? cfr. p. 352).

10. ——— (—, parish of Nykyrke): in the fields of Härmesta; the inscription forms a curved band, and surrounds an upright standing cross, the upper part of which—

is furnished with serpentine decorations; the last part of the inscription, containing the name of the man who built the cairn, runs along the perpendicular pole of the cross. (L 895, B 771.)



On the cross: 

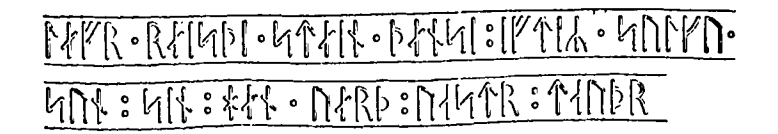
ESKIL : AUK : KNAUÞIMANR : RAISTU : STAIN : ÞANSI : AT : BRUÞUR : SIN : SVIRA : AS : VARÞ : DAUÞR : O : ENGLANDI.

KUML : GIARÞI : ÞATSI : KITIL : SLAKR :

Áskell ok Knauðimanr reistu stein þenna at bróður sinn Sverri, es varð dauðr á England: "Eskill and Knaudimanr (*or* Gnaudimanr) raised this stone after their brother Sverre, who died in England." On the cross:

Kuml gördi þatsi	"This cairn made
Ketil, slakr.	Ketil the Yielding."

11. ——— (district of Oppunda, parish of Bettna): Hvalstad; the stone is placed in a ship-formed enclosure or stone-grouping made in the form of a ship; the inscription forms a curved band. (L 899, B 794.)

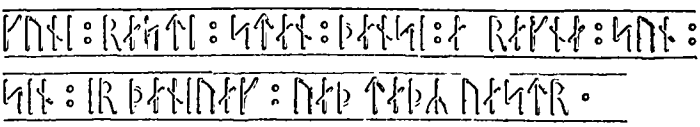


LAFR : RAISÞI : STAIN : ÞANSI : IFTIR : SULKU : SUN : SIN : HAN : VARÞ : VASTR : DAUÞR.

Leifr reisti stein þenna eftir Sulka, son sinn; hann

varð vestr dauðr: "Leif raised this stone after his son Sulke; he died in the Western parts."

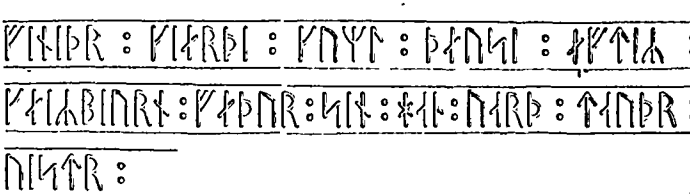
12. ——— (—, parish of Lerbo): in the fields of Hässlö; the inscription forms a curved band surrounding an upright standing decorated cross with a smaller cross in the middle. (L 904, B 772)



GUNNI : RAISTI : STAIN : ÞANSI : AT : RAGNA : SUN : SIN : IR : ÞANI[VA]G : VARÞ : DAUÞR : VASTR.

Gunni reisti stein þenna at Ragna, son sinn, er þannig varð dauðr vestr: "Gunni raised this stone after Ragne his son, who died there (yonder) in in the Western parts."

13. ——— (district of Villåttinge, parish of Årdala): on the hillock of Sannerby; the inscription forms a curved band with a cross-band below, surrounding a cross, around which the concluding part of the inscription runs. (L 912, B 824).

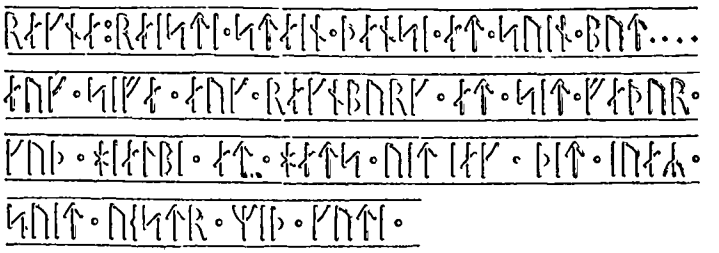


FINIÞR : GIARÞI : KUML : ÞAUSI : AFTIR : GAIRBJURN : FAÞUR SIN : HAN : VARÞ : DAUÞR : VISTR.

Finnviðr görði kuml þessi eftir Geirbjörn, föður sinn; hann varð dauðr vestr: "Finnvid made this cairn after Geirbirn his father; he died in the Western parts."

14. ——— (district of Daga, parish of Gåsinge): in the door of the armamentary; the inscription forms a coiled up serpent,

and the concluding part is placed within the same; there is a cross between the curvatures; a small part of the stone is broken off. (L. 925, B 718.)

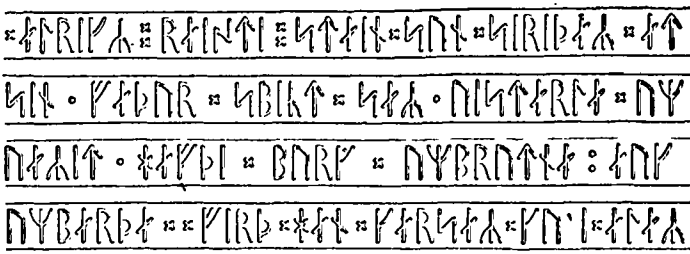


RAGNA : RAISTI : STAIN : ÞANSI : AT : SUIN : BUNDA : SIN : AUK : SIFA : AUK : RAGNBURG : AT : SIN : FAÞUR : GUÞ : HJALBI : AND : HANS . SVIN : IAK : ÞIT : IVARS : SVIT : VESTR . MIÞ : GUTI :

Ragna reisti stein þansi (þenna) at Svein bónda *sinn*, ok Sifa ok Ragnborg at sinn föður; guð hjálpi önd hans! *Svein*n jók þèt*t* Ívar*s* sveit vestr með G*a*uti: "Ragna raised this stone after Svein her husband, and Sifa and Ragnborg at their father; God help his spirit! Svein was a brave follower in the troop of Ivar in the Western parts along with Gaut.

The interpretation of the concluding part of the inscription is difficult; still it does appear, that Svein, in whose memory the stone was erected, accompanied Gaut on his expedition to the Western countries, and, if I have rightly apprehended the meaning, that he has by his bravery distinguished himself in that army or squadron which was commanded by one Ivar.

15. ——— (district of East Rekarne, parish of Kjula): on the brow of the Kjula mountain near the assize hill; the inscription forms two long serpentine bands, which terminate in a cross in the middle. (L. 979, B 753; Verelii Runographia p. 87; Peringskiöld, Notæ in vitam Theodorici p. 475.)



ALRIKR : RAISTI : STAIN : SUN : SIRIÞAR : AT : SIN · FAÞUR : SPJUT : SA'R : VISTARLA : UM : VARIT : HAFÞI : BURG : UMBRUTNA : AUK : UMBARÞA : FIRÞ : HAN : KARSAR : GUTI : ALLIR :

Alrekr reisti stein:	"Alrek raised this stone:
son Sigríðar,	the son of Sigrid
at sinn föður Spjót,	at his father Spiot,
sá er vestarla	who in the Western parts
um várit hafði	had in the spring-time
borg um brotna	broken a castle
ok um barða,	and beaten eke,
(fór) hann (ok) garsar	he and all his lads
(með) Gauti allir.	went with Gaut."

After the first line in prose here also follows a complete stanza of eight lines in the ancient metre (*fornyrðalag*).

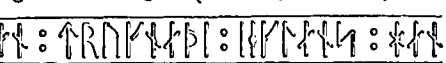
SUKRUÞR on the Bro stone (nº 3 above p. 335-336) we must suppose to be a man's name Sigurðr or Sigrauðr, and it may be inferred from a stone in the Mora mountain opposite to the garden of Sundbyholm in the neighbouring parish of Jäder, that this has been the husband (*bóndi*) of Sigrid, the daughter of Orm and mother of Alrik (L 984): "Sigríðr gördi brú þessa, móðir Alriks, dóttir Orms, fur sálu Hólmgars, föður Sukruðar búanda síns". This Sigraud has been named Sigrauðr spjót, after the same manner as Sigurðr bildr, one of Olaf Tryggvason's champions in the sea-fight of Svölder (see Fornmanna Sögur 2 p. 252). This man

has died long before Sigrid, and from this may be explained that Alrik is called the son of Sigrid.

The explanation of the last distich is difficult. The penultimate word may perhaps be read GUTI rather than KUNI.

KARSI occurs as a man's name on two Runic stones (L 506, 515), and it means probably the same as *gâsse*, a lad in modern Swedish; it is analogous to Finnish *kossi*, French *garçon*, Celtish *gas*, a young boy.

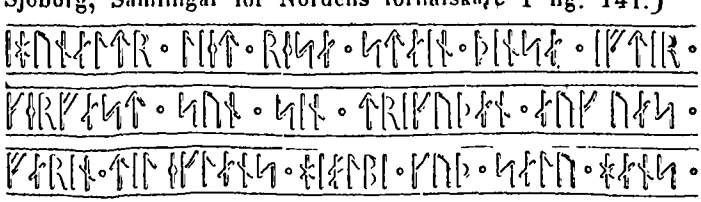
16. ——— (district of West Rekarne, parish of Tumbo): above the door of the church; the stone has been put in in such a manner that the Runic letters turn topsy-turvy; the inscription forms a band with serpentine coils below; the beginning is wanting. (L 987, B 761.)



HAN : DRUKNAÞI : I ENGLANDS : HAFI :

hann druknaði i *England*s ha*fi*: "he drowned in the English ocean (the North Sea)."

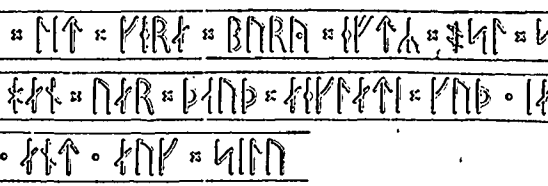
17. VESTMANLAND (district of Norrbo, parish of Skultuna): the stone lay in the cellar, with its back resting on the floor, and the one end passing trough the wall was visible on its outside; it was removed and placed in an upright posture in a place called Jacobsberg near the brassworks of Skultuna. The inscription forms a serpent-coil, and its conclusion is placed without the same. (L 1002; N. H. Sjöborg, Samlingar för Nordens fornälskare 1 fig. 141.)



HINVALDR : LIET : RISA : STAIN : ÞINSA : IFTIR : GERFAST : SUN : SIN : DRING : GUDAN : AUK VAS FARIN : TIL : ENGLANDS : HIALBI : GUÞ : SALU : HANS :

Íngvaldr lèt reisa stein þenna eftir Geirfast, son sinn, dreng góðan, ok vas farinn til Englands; hjálpi guð sálu hans: "Ingvald caused this stone to be raised after Geirfast his son, a worthy (young) man, and he had gone to England; God help his soul!"

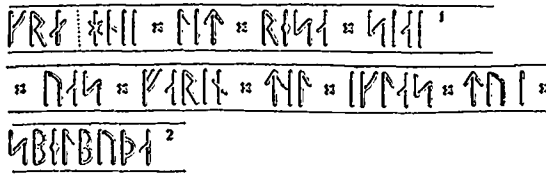
18. ——— (district of Tuhundra, parish of Lundby): in the bridge of Saltäng; the inscription in a serpent-coil surrounds a cross. (L 1016, B 1082; Verelii Runographia p. 74.)



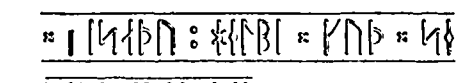
GISL : LIT : GERA : BRU : IFTIR : OSL : SUN : SIN : IIAN : VARÞ : ÞAUÞR : A ENGLANDI : GUÞ : JALBI : HANS : AND : AUK : SILU.

Gísl lèt gera brú eftir Osl, son sinn; hann varð dauðr á Englandi; guð hjalpi hans önd ok sálu: "Gisl caused this bridge (and burial-cairn) to be made after Osl his son; he died in England; God help his spirit and soul!"

19. ——— (—, parish of Dingtuna): the stone lay in Vendelcby within the hostelry, where it was used as a seat. The inscription, in the form of serpents, was partly worn away and illegible, and a part of the stone at the top broke off and missing. These are the observations made by O. Celsius who examined the stone the 27th July 1727. The inscription makes five lines, and a part of the conclusion is missing. (L 1021; O. Celsii Svenska Runstenar, Ms. 2 p. 417.)



1-2, Something of the inscription, at the top of the stone, is missing here.

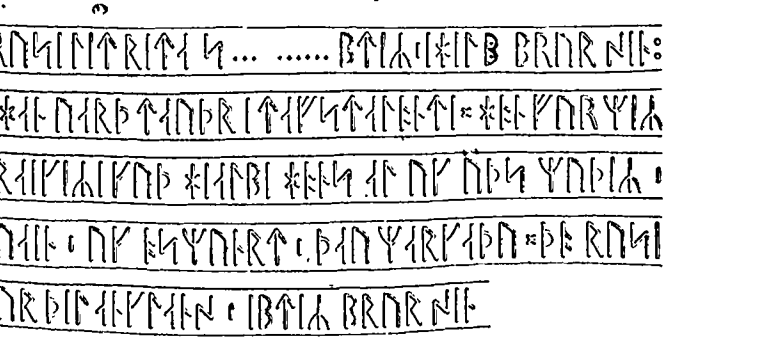


GRAuIINAKI : LIT : RESA : STAIN : . . . . . .
VAS : FARIN : TIL : INGLANDS : DU : I : SBELBU ÞA . . . . . .
ISAÞU : IIELBI : GUÞ : SELU HANS : SIGI JUK : . . .

Gráhn*aki* lèt r*e*isa st*e*in . . . . . vas farin*n* til E*ng*la*nd*s; dó í Spelbý (*or* Sperbý: ᛋᛒᚧᚱᛒᚢ), þá . . . . . isaðu; hjálpi guð sá*lu hans*: Sigi *hjó*: "Gráhnakki (Greynook) caused the stone to be raised . . . . . was gone to England, died in Spelby; God help his soul! Sigi carved the (Runes)."

As far as I can judge, here is a proper name of a place in England, where that man of the parish of Dingtuna, for whom the stone is raised, died. Perhaps Spelby means Spilsby in the county of Lincoln.

20. GESTRIKLAND (Gefle): on the fields of Hämlinge, by the road. Lieut. Colonel Westfelt who on topographical travels made drawings of several Runic stones for our Society has also furnished a new drawing of this one. The inscription forms two serpent-coils. (L 1049, B 1101; Acta lit. Sveciæ II 1725-1729 p. 197-198.)



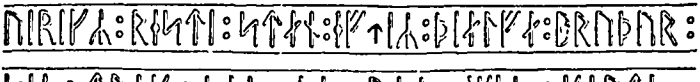
BRUSI : LIT : RITA : STAIN : ÞANSI : IPTIR : IHIL : BRUR : SIN : IN : HAN : VARÞ : DAUÞR : I : TAFSTALONDI : HON : FUR : MIR : FRAYGIRI : GUÞ : HJALBI : HONS :

sALU : uK : GUÞS : MUÞIR : SVAIN : UK : OSMVNDR ÞAIR : MARKAÞU : ÞO : BRUSI : FUR : TIL : ANGLANDS : IPTIR : BRUR SIN.

Brúsi lèt rita *stein* þenna eptir Egil bróður sinn, en hann varð dauðr á Tafastalandi; hann fór með Freygeiri; guð hjálpi hans sálu ok guðs móðir; Sveinn ok Ásmundr þeir mörkuðu, þá Brúsi fór til Englands, eftir bróður sinn: "Brusi caused this stone to be inscribed after Egil his brother, and he died in Tavastaland (Finland); he went with Freygeir; God and the mother of God help his soul! Svein and Asmund marked, when Brusi went to England, after (in memory of) their brother."

Egil, one of Bruse's brothers, died in Tafastland in Finland on an expedition probably to Gardarike, in which he accompanied a certain Freygeir. His two brothers Svein and Asmund added the other part of the inscription, in memory of their brother Bruse, when he set out for England.

21. EAST-GÖTLAND (district of Bankekind, parish of Landeryd): in the steeple wall; the inscription in a serpent-coil surrounds a double cross. (L 1131, B 854.)



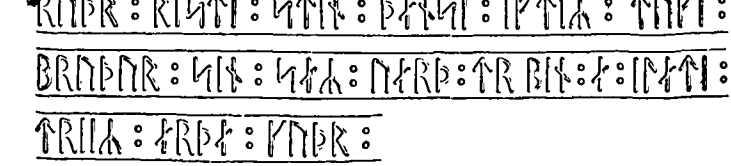
VIRIKR : RESTI : STAIN : IFTIR : ÞIALFA : BRUÞUR : SIN : DRANG : ÞAN : AR : VAR : MIR : GAUTI.

Virikr reisti stein eftir Þjálfa, bróður sinn, dreng þann er var með Gauti: "Virik raised this stone after his brother Thialfe, that youth who was with Gaut."

It thus appears that the said Gaut has in his expedition to the Western countries had several companions from different parts of Sweden.

22. ——— (district of Hanekind, parish of Kaga):

near Rackegatan; the inscription forms a coiled up serpent, and the tail is twisted about the neck. (L 1145, B 850).

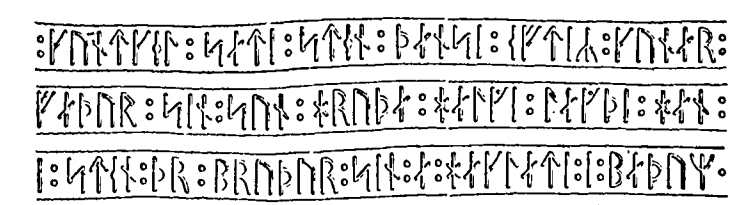


RUÞR : RISTI : STIN : ÞANSI : IFTIR : TUKI : BRUÞUR : SIN : SA'R : VARÞ : DRIBIN : A : IGLANDI : DRIGR : ARÞA : GUÞR :

Rauðr reisti stein þenna eftir Túki (Tóka), bróður sinn, sá er varð drepinn á Englandi, drengr harðla góðr: "Raud raised this stone aftir Toke his brother, who was killed in England, being a very worthy man."

Here we must in all probability read England, and not Eyland.

23. SMÅLAND. (NJUDINGEN, East district, parish of Näfvelsiö): Rösås; the stone is broke; the inscription forms three bands, and is to be read *βουστροφηδὸν*; beside one of the lines there is a cross. The drawing of the inscription is made by Mr Wallman (L 1233).



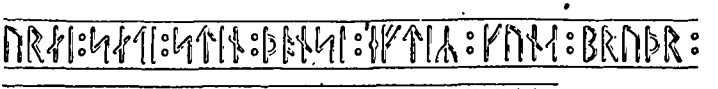
GUNTKEL : SATI : STEN : ÞANSI : EFTIR : GUNAR : FAÞUR : SIN : SUN : HRUÞA : HALGI : LAGÞI : HAN : I : STENÞRU : BRUÞUR : SIN : A : HANGLANDI : I : BAÞUM.

Gunnkell sati stein þenna eftir Gunnar föður sinn, son Hrúða; Helgi lagði hann í steinþró, bróður sinn, á Englandi í Baðum: "Gunnkell set this stone after Gunnar his

father, the son of Rut; Helge laid him in a stone-trough (i. e. stone-coffin), his brother, in England in Bath."

This inscription is remarkable in as much as the name of an English city, Bath in Somersetshire, is mentioned here. Helge, it seems, was a brother of Gunnar, Gunnkel's father, and he (Helge) effected Gunnar's interment by laying him in a stone coffin.

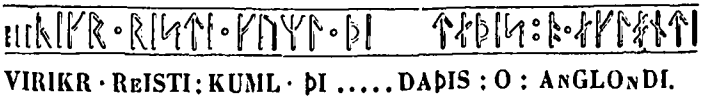
24. —— (—, the West district, parish of Sandsiö): in the meadow of the manse near the road; the inscription is arranged *βουστροφηδὸν* in three lines. (L 1239, B 1046.)



VRAI : SATTI : STIN : ÞONSI : EFTIR : GUNNA : BRUÞUR : SIN : HAN : VAR : DAUÞR : I : ANGLANDI :

Vrai (Urai, Vrain, Orri?) sat*t*i stein þenna eftir Gun*n*a bróður sin*n*; hann var dauðr i Engl*a*ndi: "Urăi set this stone after Gun*n*e his brother; he died in England."

25. —— (FINNHEDEN (district of Westbo, parish of Berga): in the church door forming the step. (L 1255.)



VIRIKR · REISTI : KUML · ÞI ..... DAÞIS : O : ANGLONDI.

Virikr r*e*isti kuml þe*ssi* ..... *an*daðis*t* á Eng-la*n*di: "Virik raised this cairn ..... expired in England."

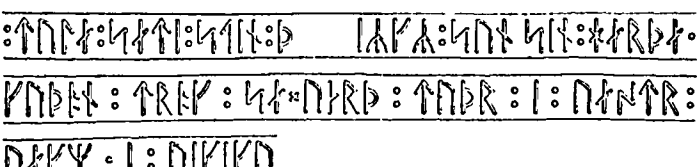
The name of the person who died in England is lost.

26. —— (....., district of Sunnerbo; parish of Berga): the mill of Ingelstad near the Laga brook. (L 1262, Sven Bring Diss. de, Ottingia Berga).

VI..ET : RISÞI : STIN : EFTIR : ÞURIR : FAÞUR : SIN : SA'R : EnDAÞIS : O : InGLANDI.

.... reisti stein eftir Þóri föður sinn, sá er endaðist á Englandi; " .... raised this stone after Thorir, who expired in England."

27. WEST GÖTALAND, (district of Skåning, parish of Edsvära): Haraldstorp, near a brook; the inscription forms two curved bands with a cross-band below. (L 1351, B 962.)

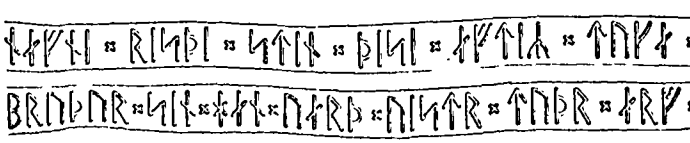


TULA : SATtI : STIN : ÞEnSI ..... IRKR : SUN : SIN : HARÞA : GUÞON : DRONG : SA : VARÞ : DUÞR : I : VASTR-VAGuM : I : VIKInGU.

Tola satti stein þenna eptir .. irkr, son sinn, harðla góðan dreng, sá varð dauðr í Vestrvegum í víkingu: "Tola set this stone after Svirkr her son, a very worthy young man; he died in the Western parts being on a viking- or roving expedition."

The man's name who died in the Western countries on a viking excursion has probably been Sverkr or Serkir.

28. SKÅNE (district of Bara, parish of Uppåkra): Hjärup; the inscription forms four bands, two on each side. (L 1439, W 154.)



NAFNI : RISÞI : STIN : ÞInSI : AFTIR : TUKA : BRUÞUR : SIN : HAN : VARÞ : VISTR : DUÞR : ARF.

Nafni reisti stein þenna eftir Tóka bróður sinn; hann varð vestr dauðr arf: "Nafne raised this stone after Tuke his brother; he died in the West."

The concluding word ᚼᚱᚠ may perhaps be incorrectly copied, and it may be we ought to read ᛁ ᚢᛁᚠᛁᚴᚢ, í víkingu, as on the Strö stone, L 1448, W 147.

29. NORWAY (county of Bratsberg, district of Övre Thèlemarken, parish of Evie): Evie-Moe near Fennie Foss; the inscription forms two straight bands, the one beside the other, and has a cross at the end. (L 1457, W 493; Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed 1 p. 310, 411-413).

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ᛅᚱᚾᛋᛏᛁᚾ᛫ᚱᛁᛋᛏᛁ ᛋᛏᛁᚾ᛫ᚦᛁᚾᛅ᛫ᛁᚠᛏᛁᚱ᛫ᛒᛁᛅᚱᚾ᛫ᛋᚢᚾ᛫

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ᛋᛁᚾ᛫ᛋᛅ᛫ᚢᛅᚱ᛫ᛏᚢᚦᚱ᛫ᛁ ᛚᛁᚦᛁ᛫ ᛁᛋ᛫ᚲᚾᚢᛏᚱ᛫ᛋᚢᛏᛏᛁ᛫ᛁᚾᚴᛚᚢᚾᛏ᛫

ARNSTINN : RISTI : STIN : : ÞENA : EFTIR : BJORN : SUN : SIN : SA : VAR : DUÞR : I : LIÞI : IS : KNUTR : SOTTI : INGLOND.

Arnsteinn reisti stein þenna eftir Björn, son sinn; sá var dauðr í liði, is Knútr sótti England: "Arnstein raised this stone after his son Biörn; he died in the host (or more properly: in the fleet), when Knut invaded England."

LID here and on the Täckhammar stone (above p. 340) is probably not the name of the town (Leith), England and not Scotland being expressly named; *lið* signifies a ship, a fleet, see Snorra Edda I, p. 252, 544 and Hervarar saga c. 5 (my edition in Antiquités Russes et Orientales 1 p. 149).

This Biörn may have accompanied Canute the Great to England; or he may have partaken in the expedition to that country of the Danish prince Canute Sveinson 1075.

The sense of the words "nis goþ" is uncertain, perhaps the meaning is "have an eye upon us, oh God!"

BEMÆRKNINGER

OM

EN DANSK RUNESTEEN

FRA DET ELLEVTE AARHUNDREDE,

FUNDEN

MIDT I LONDON

OG OM FLERE DANSKE RUNESTENE.

AF

CARL CHRISTIAN RAFN.

SÆRSKILT AFTRYK AF DET

KONGELIGE NORDISKE OLDSKRIFT-SELSKABS

ANNALER FOR NORDISK OLDKYNDIGHED OG HISTORIE.

KJÖBENHAVN.

TRYKT HOS J. D. QVIST, BOG- OG NODETRYKKER.

1854.

BEMÆRKNINGER OM EN DANSK RUNESTEEN FRA DET ELLEVTE AARHUNDREDE, FUNDEN MIDT I LONDON; VED CARL C. RAFN.

Jevnför den bag tilföiede Afbildning af Stenen tab. I.

LUNDÚNABORG er allra borga mest ok ágæzt of öll Norðrlönd, London er den störste og berömteste af alle Borge i de nordiske Lande. Saaledes bedder det allerede i Ragnar Lodbroks Saga[1]. Nordboers Besög hos Kong Athelstan, som residerede i London, omtales i Egils Saga og de norske Konge-Sagaer[2]. Den Gang var alt i flere Aarhundreder de Danskes Herredömme i Northumberland og andre Dele af England, navnligen i Norfolk og Suffolk, af stor Betydning. Efterat Knud den Store havde indtaget London og senere tiltaget sig Eneherredömmet, vandt det en lignende Betydning i hele England, der varede i mange Aar. En stor Deel Nordboer, især Danske, vare naturligviis den Gang nedsatte i England i betydelige Stillinger, navnligen ogsaa i London.

[1]) Fornaldar Sögur Norðrlanda I p. 289. — [2]) Egils saga Skallagrímssonar c. 65, p. 167; Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar c. 8—9; Fornmanna Sögur I, p. 16—17.

Det er et Monument, oprettet upaatvivlelig af tvende af disse, vi her nærmere skulle omtale.

Vi skylde vort Selskabs i London boende, for dets Anliggender særdeles nidkjære Medlem John Brown, at vi blive i Stand til at give en nöiagtig Meddelelse om dette Fund. Han henvendte sig nemlig, strax efterat Fundet var blevet bekjendt i London, til Mr. James T. Knowles junior, Architect, ved hvis foretagne Arbeider Stenen var fremkommen, som med störste Beredvillighed ikke alene meddelte os en omstændelig Beretning om Fundet, men ogsaa sendte Selskabet den höist velkomne Foræring af en Afstöbning af Stenen, hvorved man sættes i Stand til at foretage en sikrere Undersögelse af Indskriften.

Ved Brev af 11te Decbr. 1852 sendte han vort Selskab Afstöbningen af dette höist interessante Runemonument, som opgroves forrige August midt i London, („in the heart of the city of London", som han udtrykker sig). I sin Skrivelse tilföier han: „Skulde jeg ved Udförelsen af mine Arbeider som Architect træffe flere saadanne Levninger fra Oltiden, som den der er Gjenstand for nærværende Meddelelse, vil jeg föle en særdeles Tilfredsstillelse ved at oversende Beretning desangaaende til dem og saaledes at kunne paa nogen Maade fremme Formaalet for den skandinaviske Archæologie".

London var fra Byens förste Tider deelt, i Retning fra Nord til Syd, ved en smuk Bæk med godt Vand, der kom fra de norden for Byen beliggende Marker, gjennemskar den Staden omgivende Muur og löb midt igjennem Byen ud i Themsen. Lige til det 13de Aarhundrede var London inddeelt i 24 Qvarterer, af hvilke 13 laa paa Östsiden og 11 paa Vestsiden af den nævnte Bæk, der formedelst dens Löb gjennem Murene *(wall)* kaldtes Wallbrooke. De paa Vestsiden liggende Qvarterer tiltoge meget mere end de paa Östsiden, hvorfor det ene af dem, Farringdon, som var betydelig udvidet ogsaa ved Bygninger udenfor Portene, blev ved en Parlamentsact i Aaret 1393 deelt i to Qvarterer, det ene udenfor Murene, det andet og ældre indenfor samme. I dette Qvarteer „Farringdon ward within the walls" var St. Pauls Kirke med tilhörende Kloster og övrige Bygninger beliggende paa samme Plads, som denne Kirke og nærmeste Omgivelser endnu indtage. Kirken omgaves, som den endnu omgives, af St. Pauls Kirkegaard, der dog nu for en stor Deel er tagen til Bebyggelse for Privathuse, saa at man nu ved dette Navn alene betegner en Gade eller oval Plads, der er omgiven af Huse. Cathedralkirken grundlagdes först omtrent ved Aaret 610 af Ethelred, Konge af Kent, som skjenkede Landgods til St. Pauls Kloster. Blandt de Konger, som i den nærmest följende Tid rigeligst begavede denne Kirke, nævnes Athelstan, Edgar, Knud den Store, Edvard Confessor og Vilhelm Erobreren.

I Aaret 1086 brændte St. Pauls Kirke i den store Ildebrand, som fortærede, tilligemed den, den störste Deel af Byen. Biskop Mauricius lagde da Grundvolden til en ny St. Pauls Kirke, en Bygning af saa betydeligt Omfang, at Folk den Gang troede den aldrig kunde ventes fuldfört. For at sikkre den mod Ild, opförtes den paa Steenbuer, en indtil den Tid i England ubekjendt Bygnings-

maade, der var indfört fra Frankrig, ligesom ogsaa Stenene hentedes fra Caen i Normandiet. Mauricius's Efterfølger i Bispedömmet, Richard Beamor udvidede Kirkens Territorium ved paa egen Bekostning at lægge til samme flere store Gader og Stræder. I det 14de Aarhundrede omgaves Kirkegaarden med en Muur. Omtrent midt paa Kirkegaardens nordre Deel var det berömte Kors med der anbragte Prædikestol, som holdtes for en af Nationens mærkværdigste og höitideligste Pladse, hvor gjennem Aarhundreder de anseteste Theologer og störste Lærde havde prædiket og hvor ogsaa höitidelige Statsforhandlinger vare foretagne. Efter en Parlaments-Beslutning nedbrödes dette Kors i Aaret 1643. St. Pauls Cathedral ödelagdes atter i Londons store Ildebrand 1666 og opförtes igjen i Aarene 1675 til 1710, svarende til sin forrige Betydning. Den nye St. Pauls Kirke er den störste og pragtfuldeste i den protestantiske Christenhed og ved Opregningen af Kirkebygningerne i Europa anföres den bestandig umiddelbar efter St. Peterskirken i Rom.

Talrige Monumenter vidnede om de i den ældre Kirke begravne. Erkenwalde, Biskop af London, var begravet i den gamle Kirke ved Aaret 700 og hans Legeme förtes over i den nye Kirke i Aaret 1140. Öst-Saxernes Konge Sebba begraves ogsaa i den gamle Kirke og flyttedes til den nye, ligeledes Vest-Saxernes Konge Ethelred[1]. Saavel i Harald Haardraades som i Edvard den Helliges Saga berettes det, at Kong Edvard döde i London og blev begraven i Pauls Kirke *(var jarðaðr í Páls kirkju)*,

[1]) Jvfr. „The history and antiquities of London, by Thomas Allen, vol. III, London 1828"; og især „A Survey of London, conteyning the Original, Antiquity, Increase, Modern Estate, and Description, written in the year 1598 by John Stow; a new edition by William J. Thoms, London 1842".

og tilföies der at han strax efter sin Död forherligedes ved Mirakler, og han laa der i Jorden, lige til den hellige Erkebiskop Thomas tog ham op og lod ham lægge i et anseeligt Skriin. I Harald Haardraades Saga berettes endvidere, at Harald Godvinson, som derefter udraabtes til Konge, blev den 8de Dag i Julen 1066 salvet i St. Pauls Kirke *(var vígðr konúngs vígslu í Páls kirkju)*[1].

De forudskikkede Bemærkninger ville tjene til at betegne Localiteten. Vi ville dernæst indföre Hr. Knowles Meddelelse om Fundet.

Clapham Park December 1852.

RUNE-GRAVSTEEN FRA ST. PAULS KIRKEGAARD[2], LONDON.

Den Steen, af hvis monumentale Afdeling den hermed följende Astöbning er en nöiagtig Efterligning, blev opdaget ved Opgravning efter Grundvold for Messrs Cook Sönner & Co.'s nye Pakhuus paa Sydsiden af St. Pauls Kirkegaard, i August Maaned dette Aar.

I en Dybde af noget mere end 20 Fod fra Overfladen, naaede man den naturlige Grundflade, bestaaende af en compact mörkegrøn sandsteenagtig Sand, som bedækker et Lag af Kiselsteens-Gruus. Paa Overfladen af denne Sand fandtes den udhugne Steen, og ved dens nordre Side var der udgravet en lang ildegjort Fordybning, hældende fra Syd til Nord med en Vinkel af 16° til 20°, og denne indeholdt et Menneskeskelet. Hovedskallen med næsten alle Benene blev kastet i den nye Udhulning og saaledes begravet igjen; men femur og tibia af det ene Been

[1]) Haralds saga harðráða c. 112, Fornmanna Sögur VI, 396; Saga Játvarðar konúngs hins helga c. 6, Annaler f. nord. Oldk. og Hist. nærv. Bind p. 30. — [2]) *Church-yard*, et Navn paa en Gade, eller rettere den Række Huse paa begge Sider, som danne en oval Figur omkring St. Pauls-Kirken.

tilligemed tibia af det andet bleve heldigviis opbevarede, og disse ere nu i min Besiddelse og gjemmes for det Britiske Museum.

Selve Stenen er af en meget skjör Oolith sandsynlig af Bath-Oolith. Dens Dimensioner ere: 1 Fod 10½ Tomme bred; 2 Fod 4¾ Tomme lang; da 10½ Tomme af den nederste Deel vare nedgravne i Jorden, var Tykkelsen 4 Tommer ved den överste Deel og 5 Tommer ved den nederste nedgravne og kun grovt tilhuggede Ende. Den nöiagtige Störrelse af den indhuggede Deel er 18½ Tomme den ene Vei og 13½ Tomme den anden.

Det vil bemærkes at Pladen er sönderbrudt i 4 Stykker, det femte Stykke blev kastet i en af de opfyldte Grave, men dets Tab er af ingen Vigtighed, eftersom hele den nederste Deel af Stenen er kun grovt tilhugget paa den mest kluntede Maade, og denne havde öiensynlig været nedgravet i Jorden.

Kanten af Pladen viser, ved den Maade hvorpaa dens tilhuggede Overflade ender (det vil sige hele den Deel af Stenen, som ei var nedgravet), den Heldings-Vinkel, under hvilken denne antiqve Hoved-Steen blev opstillet. Denne var omtrent 30°, idet Stenens indhuggede Front dannede en stump Vinkel med Jordens Overflade af næsten 60°.

Sculpturens överste Overflade har været bedækket med en meget mörkeblaa Farve, som endnu er ret kjendelig paa Orginalen. Runerne ere dybt indhuggede.

Den Afstöbning, som ledsager denne Meddelelse, kan man forlade sig paa som en tro Afskrift og et paalideligt Facsimile af saa meget af dette interessante Monument, som den indeholder. Det övrige kan klart opfattes af efterfölgende Skitse (jfr. den her tilföiede Afbildning af Stenen).

P. S. Man kan gjöre den Bemærkning, at, hvorvel Rune-Inscriptionen bliver betragtet som ufuldstændig af

adskillige engelske Lærde — saa opdages dog aldeles intet Spor af nogensomhelst anden Skrift paa Pladen — hvis Fuldendthed og fuldstændige Opbevaring före til den sikre Slutning, at ingen videre Indskrift nogensinde för fandtes derpaa. Og hvad det tabte Stykke angaaer, saa maa det, som allerede er bemærket, have været aldeles utilhugget — og saaledes nedgravet at det aldrig kom tilsyne.

Jeg vilde ogsaa hendrage Opmærksomheden — som noget der er aldeles afgjörende — paa Slutnings-Linien, paa Pladens Kant, som, da den er en Fortsættelse af den krumme Linie paa Stenens Front, synes at tilkjendegive Skriftens Fuldstændighed i den Retning.

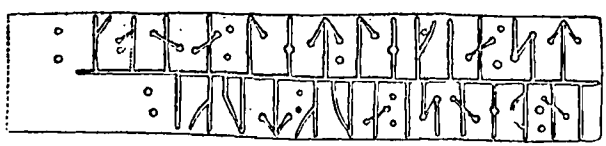
JAMES T. KNOWLES.

Efter den meddelte Afstöbning give vi her (tab. I) en Afbildning af Stenen, seet fra Siden, saa at ogsaa den derpaa anbragte Runeindskrift bliver synlig. Iövrigt fremstiller denne Afbildning hele Pladen i en Sjettedeels Störrelse, saaledes som den forefandtes. Kun den överste Deel af Forsiden er udhugget med Forestillinger i Relief indenfor en Indfatning, der foroven i begge Hjörner er prydet med Arabesker. Der forestilles paa Pladen en phantastisk fiirföddet Dyrfigur; det med tvende tilbagestaaende Takker forsynede Hoved er tilbagevendt og har to Hugtænder og fremstaaende Tunge; Klöerne have en særegen krummet Form. Forunderlige Böininger og Snoninger ere anbragte over Dyrets bageste Deel samt tværs over og mellem dets Hale og Bagbeen. En mindre Dragefigur er anbragt foran den större Dyrfigur og med den bageste Deel, der ender sig i en tvedeelt Hale, snoet ind imellem det store Dyrs krydslagte Forbeen.

Lignende Forestillinger af Dyr finder man paa ikke faa Runestene her i Norden; man sammenligne især

f. Ex. de svenske Runestene, som ere afbildede i Bautil Nr. 383, 595, 639, 642, 644, 758, 760, 956, 968, og med Hensyn til Snoningerne især Nr. 560, 649, 653, 660 med flere. Vi gjenkjende de samme Motiver og den samme Kunstsmag, som Monumenterne fra Jellinge fremvise, saavel de i Thyres Höi fundne Oldsager, for en stor Deel bestaaende af Snitværk, som i Særdeleshed Kong Gorm den Gamles Mindesteen[1].

Runeindskriften er anbragt paa Kanten til Venstre i samme Udstrækning som Forestillingen paa Siden, hvilket lader antage at den er fuldstændig. Den er indhugget i to ved en Tværstreg afdelte Linier, saaledes at Slutningslinien begynder ved den Ende, hvor den förste Linies sidste Rune staaer, og man maa vende sig for at læse den, hvad man i gammel græsk Skrift pleier at kalde βουστροφηδὸν. Vedstaaende Afbildning viser Indskriftens Stilling og Characterer:



Udtrykt med latinske Bogstaver læses denne Indskrift saaledes:

KONA : LET : LEGIA : ST

: IꓘOL : ꓘUK : ISNƎꓕ : NI

Kona; den förste Rune er noget beskadiget, men sees dog tydelig at være ᚴ, eftersom Begyndelsen af Tværstregen foroven er bestemt. Af den anden Rune er kun Hovedstaven tilbage; men foran denne er afskallet et Stykke af Stenen, saa at det maa ansees rimeligt at der har staaet ᛏ. Der kan ikke have staaet ᚢ, da den bevarede

[1]) man sammenholde den næste Artikel i nærværende Bind.

Stav, der maatte have været den bageste af dette Bogstav, gaaer heelt op til Kanten. *Kona*, der som Fællesnavn betyder en Kvinde eller Hustru, kunde vel, ligesom *Kuna* i enkelte svenske Runestene (Liljegren 431, 1317), være et Kvindenavn; imidlertid antager jeg det dog for rimeligere at ᚾ fra det følgende Ord her maa, tænkt fordoblet, föies til det foregaaende Ord, saa at vi maa læse Navnet KONAL eller egentlig KONÁLL. Det var nemlig en Regel, som sædvanlig iagttoges i Runeindskrifter, at man ikke satte samme Bogstav to Gange ved Siden af hinanden men kun een Gang og antog det fordoblet. Man kunde synes at det havde været rimeligere at have föiet ᚾ til Navnet og udeladt det i det følgende Gjerningsord LÈT, imprf. af *láta*, men Runeristeren har vel anseet den her fulgte Fremgangsmaade for tydeligere. Som overeensstemmende Exempler anföres Vedyxestenen (L[1] 211, B[2] 404); kuþ hjalbi hös al uk uþs muþir, d. e. kuþ hjalbi hons salu uk kuþs muþir; Löfstadstenen (L 141, B 477): Kardar : auk : utirik, d. e. Kardar auk Kutirik; Tjursåkerstenen (L 441, B 99): Sibi : auk : irmuntr, d. e. Sibi auk Kirmuntr; Häringestenen (L 284): Þurbiurn : auk : nutr . . . hon salu kuþs, d. e. Þurbiurn auk Knutr . . . hons salu uk kuþs; Högelbystenen (L 816, B 685): auk . uþmuþ, d. e. auk Kuþmuþ.

LEGIA; der staaer egentlig ᚴ, men af Afbildningen vil bemærkes, at her den Deel af Stenen mellem Hoved-Staven og Tværstregen foroven er afskallet, og har höist rimelig en Prik været anbragt i Aabningen, hvorved denne Afskalling lettere har kunnet foranlediges. Naar ᚴ tænkes fordoblet, bliver det LEGGJA efter almindelig islandsk Skrivemaade.

STIN for *stein*, *acc.* af *steinn*, en hyppig forekommende Skrivemaade af Ordet.

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[1]) J. G. Liljegren, Runurkunder, Stockholm 1833. — [2]) Bautil m. Anm. af J. Göransson, Stockholm 1750.

ÞENSI, en Form som ogsaa jevnlig forekommer for *acc. þenna* af *þessi*, f. Ex. paa Söderby-Stenen (L 1356), Larfs-Stenen (L 1390).

AUK; saaledes skrives denne Conjunction sædvanlig i Runeindskrifterne.

TUKI, et ofte forekommende nordisk, navnlig dansk Mandsnavn.

Denne Indskrift bliver altsaa efter Olddanskens senere anvendte sædvanlige islandske Skrivemaade: Konáll lèt leggja stein þensi (þenna) ok Túki, d. e. Konal og Tuke lode lægge denne Steen.

KONÁLL er et islandsk eller oldnordisk Mandsnavn af irsk Oprindelse. „Oct Conaill", otte Konall bleve dræbte i Slaget ved Magh Rath i Aaret 637[1]. Fortællingen om dette Slag er fra Slutningen af det 12te Aarhundrede; Udgiveren O'Donovan tilföier i en Note: Conall er endnu i Brug blandt enkelte Familier som et Mands Egennavn, men almindeligst som et Familienavn, i hvorvel det ikke synes rimeligt at Familienavnet O'Connell udledes fra det, eftersom dette er en angliseret Form fra det irske O'Conghail. Familien Conall nedstammer fra Conall Gulban, Sön af Niall of the nine hostages, Eneherre over Irland i det 4de Aarhundrede[2]. Een af de Helgene, som dyrkedes paa den skotske Ö Arran, hed ogsaa St. Conall[3].

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[1]) Jvfr. The Banquet of Dun na n'gedh and the Battle of Magh Rath, an ancient historical tale, edited by J. O'Donovan, published by the Irish Archæological Society, Dublin 1842 p. 290—291. — [2]) Jvfr. The Circuit of Ireland, by Muircheartach Mac Neill, Prince of Aileach; a poëm, written in the year 912 by Cormacan Eigeas, chief poet of the North of Ireland, edited by J. O'Donovan, published by the Ir. Arch. Soc., Dublin 1841 p. 50. — [3]) See A chorographical description of West or H-Iar Connaught, by O'Flaherty, edited by J. Hardiman, publ. by the Ir. Arch. Soc.,

I vort Nordens, navnligen Islands, Oldskrifter, er Konáll et oftere forekommende Navn. Landnámabók anförer alene sex Personer, der bare det.

Berses Sönner Thormod den Gamle og Ketil droge fra Irland til Island og toge i Besiddelse hele Akranes paa Sönderlandet mellem Örrida-aa og Kalmans-aa; de vare irske; Kalman var ogsaa irsk, efter hvem Aaen er opkaldt, og boede först paa Katanes. Thormod var Fader til Berse og Geirlaug, som var gift med Önund breidskegg, deres Sön var den bekjendte Tungu-Odd. Ketils Sön var Jörund den Christne, som boede paa Jörundarholt paa Akranes, senere benævnt Gardar. Edna var en Datter af Ketil Bersason; hun var gift med en Mand paa Irland, som hed Konáll, deres Sön var Asolf alskik; han udvandrede til Island og landede i Osar i Östfjordene. Han var vel christen og vilde ikke have Omgang med Hedningerne og ikke modtage Spise af dem. De droge tolv sammen östenfra, indtil de kom til Thorgeir den Hördskes Gaard i Holt under Öfjeldene og opsatte der deres Telt. Der byggede Asolf sig en Skaale under Öfjeldene paa det Sted, som nu hedder den östligste Asolfs Skaale; man var begjerlig efter at vide, hvad han havde til Föde, og man bemærkede da i Skaalen mange Fiske. Der löb en Aa tæt ved Asolfs Skaale; det var i Begyndelsen af Vinteren, Aaen blev strax fuld med Fiske. Thorgeir besværede sig over at de benyttede hans Fiskeplads. Asolf drog da bort derfra og byggede sig en anden Skaale, senere kaldet Midskaale, længere vesterpaa ved en anden Aa, som benævnes Ir-aa, eftersom de vare irske Mænd. Da de nu kom til denne Aa, var den strax opfyldt af Fiske, saa at Folk syntes

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Dublin 1816 p. 75. Det bemærkes at et „Castle Connell" omtales i Jacobi Grace Kilkenniensis Annales Hiberniæ, ed. by the Rev. R. Butler, publ. by the Ir. Arch. Soc. Dublin 1842 p. 83.

ikke at have seet saadant Under, men nu vare alle Fiske borte af den östligere beliggende Aa. Da joge Herredets Beboere dem bort derfra, og Asolf drog nu længere vest paa, hvor han byggede den vestligste Asolfs-Skaale; men det gik her paa samme Maade. Bönderne ansaae dem for troldkyndige, ihvorvel Thorgeir paastod at de vare brave Mænd. Om Vaaren droge de bort og vesterpaa til Akranes til Asolfs Frænde Jörund. Denne indböd ham til at forblive hos sig; men da han önskede ikke at være hos andre Folk, lod Jörund opföre et Huus for ham paa Indre-Holm; derhen bragte de ham Spise, og der var han, saalænge han levede. Der blev han ogsaa begraven, og hvor hans Gravsted er, opförtes en Kirke. Han holdes for at være en meget hellig Mand, om hvem ogsaa Legender berettes [1].

Den ovennævnte Kalman var af syderöisk Slægt; han udvandrede til Island, landede i Hvalfjord i Sydfjerdingen og nedsatte sig ved Kalmansaa, men tog siden Land i Besiddelse vestenfor Hvitaa mellem denne og Fljot, hele Kalmanstunga, hvor han bosatte sig. Kylan hed Kalmans Broder, hans Sön var Kare, som havde Stridigheder med Karle paa Karlastad, der var frigiven af Rolf paa Geitland; denne Karles Fader hed Konáll og var upaatvivlelig ogsaa en Irlænder [2]. Dette Navn kan, som ovenanfört, antages at være fra Irland kommet til Island, hvor saavel i som efter Landnamstiden flere bare det. Saaledes hed Ölver Barnakarls Sönnesön Konáll, hvis Datter Alfdis den Bareyske ægtede den berömte Landnamskone Aude den Grundriges Sönnesön Oleif feilan, Sön nemlig af hendes Sön Thorstein Rod, der havde været Konge over en Deel af Skotland men var falden i et Slag imod Skotterne [3]. Samme Navn

[1]) Landnámabók I, 15, Isl. Sögur I p. 49—52. — [2]) Landn. III, 1, Isl. Sögur I p. 64-65. — [3]) Landn. II, 19· V, 11, Isl. Sögur I p. 116, 309.

bar ogsaa en Sön af Ketil fra Hördaland i Norge .og denne Konals Sönnesön, Sokkes Sön, hed igjen Konáll. Stamfaderen Ketil Thorsteinson boede i Reykjadal paa Nordlandet, hvor den danske Mand Nattfare, der i Aaret 863 var fulgt ud med Islands förste Opdager Gardar Svavarson, havde, et Decennium för Nordmanden Ingolf kom til Landet, nedsat sig og tilkjendegivet sin Besiddelsestagen af Districtet ved Mærker paa Træerne, men hvorfra Ketils Broder Einar havde fordrevet ham, saa han maatte tage sin Bopæl i den efter ham opkaldte Nattfaravig. Man træffer saaledes Navnet Konáll saavel paa Sönder- og Vesterlandet som paa Nordlandet i Landnamstiden, og det har ogsaa i den följende Tid vedligeholdt sig i Landet. I den mærkelige Præstefortegnelse af 1143, affattet for det forestaaende Bispevalg og indeholdende Navnene paa nogle ansete Præster, som vare indfödte i Island, forekommer paa Nordlandet Bjarne Conalsson [1]. I Beretningen om Slaget paa Videnes 1208 mellem Biskop Gudmund Arason og Kolbein Tumason nævnes blandt de Mænd, der understöttede Biskoppen og strede tappert paa hans Side, Konáll Sokkason, uden Tvivl, efter Navnene at dömme, der gjerne vedligeholdt sig i Familien, en Descendent af den ovennævnte Mand af samme Navn [2]. I Beretningen om Eyulf Thorsteinsons Angreb paa Gissur Thorvaldson paa Flugumyre i 1253 nævnes blandt Eyulfs Vaabenfæller Ragnhildes Sönner Brynju-Hallr og Konáll [3].

Ogsaa her i selve Scandinavien finder man Navnet Konáll anvendt i en tidlig Periode; det forekommer saaledes i Indskriften paa en Runesteen i Upland, paa Trockhammar-Stenen i Skå Sogn, Färentuna Herred (L 356, B 286): Kiulakr : lit : raisa : stain : iftir : kvih svain sin :

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[1]) Isl. Sögur I p. 381 og facsimilet tab. iij. — [2]) Sturlúnga Saga II p. 5, 6, 12. [3]) Sturlúnga Saga III p. 181.

ᚴᚢᚾᛅᛚ (Kunal), der efter den sædvanlige Retskrivning maatte hedde: Kjulákr lèt reisa stein eftir kvikan svein sinn Kunál, d. e. Kjulak lod reise denne Steen efter sin raske Svend Kunal.

Navnet Tóki var allerede fra ældgamle Tider anvendt i Danmark saavelsom i andre Dele af Norden. Blandt Harald Hildetands Kæmper i Slaget paa Brovallahede nævnes i Sögubrot af Skjöldúnga Saga[1] en Tóki og blandt de flere, som Saxo fortrinsviis anförer som ypperlige i dette Slag, var ogsaa denne „Toki Jumensi provincia ortus (fra Jum eller Jom)"[2]. Saavel Saxo som andre historiske Skrifter anföre baade tidligere og senere flere Personer af dette Navn.

Meget hyppig forekommer ogsaa det samme Navn i Runeindskrifter saavel i Danmark som i Sverige, og skrives det der stundum ᛏᛅᚴᛁ, men oftest, aldeles som i Londoner-Stenen, ᛏᚢᚴᛁ, der i nyere Dansk er gaaet over til Tyge (Tycho). Sjeldnere forekomme Formerne ᛏᚢᚴᛁᚱ og ᚦᚢᚴᛁᚱ. Vi ville her indskrænke os til at nævne alene tre af de Runestene i Sverige, paa hvilke dette Navn forekommer. I Angarns Sogn, Vallentuna Herred i Upland, ligger en Steen (L 969, B 94) til Erindring om en Tukir, som omkom i Grækenland; i Högby Sogn, Göstrings Herred i Östergötland findes en (L 1180, B 882), som en Þukir har sat efter sin Fætter Asur, der ogsaa döde i Grækenland. Paa Kaga-Stenen, Hanekinds Herred i Östergötland (L 1145, B 850) læses : Ruþr : risti : stin : þansi : eftir; Tuki : bruþur : sin : sar : varþ : tribin : a: I läti : tri*kr*: arþa : kuþr:, efter sædvanlig Skrivemaade: Rútr (Hrútr) risti stein þenna eftir Tuki, bróður sinn, sá er varð drepinn á Englandi (á I*k*landi *eller* á Eylandi), drengr harðla góðr, d. e. Rut ristede denne Steen efter sin Broder Tukir,

[1]) Fornaldar Sögur Norðrlanda, ed. C. C. Rafn, 1 p. 379. — [2]) Hist. Danica, rec. P. E. Müller 1. p. 379.

som blev dræbt i England, en meget brav Mand. Paa Runestene i Danmark finder man dette Navn endnu hyppigere, og er der Formen ᛏᚢᚴᛁ almindeligst. Paa Hjarup-Stenen, Upåkra Sogn, Bara Herred i Skåne (L 1439, W 154[1]) læses: Nafni : risþi : stin : þisi . iftir : Tuka : broþur sin .... han : varþ : vistr : tuþr : ú. e. Nafne ristede denne Steen efter sin Broder Tuke, han döde i Vesterleden, altsaa paa de britiske Öer. I Hellestad Kirkemuur, Torna Herred, ligeledes i Skåne, forekommer Navnet Tuki (*gen.* og *acc.* Tuka) paa tre Stene (L 1440-1442, B 1164, 1172) fem Gange og nævnes en ᛏᚢᚴᛁ : ᚴᚢᚱᛘᚴ: ᚼᚢᚾ, Tuki Kurms sun d. e. Toke Gormsson. Paa Bregninge Stenen, Musse Herred paa Laaland (L 1490, W 262) nævnes tvende Tuke'r. Aars-Stenen i Aalborg Amt har tvende Indskrifter, den ene i Fornyrðalag, over Hövdingen Valtoke, ᚢᛚᛏᛏᚢᚴᛏ *(acc.)*, et Navn dannet af *valr*, en Hög eller en Valplads, og *Tuki*, ligesom Valbrandr, Valborg[2]. Thordrup-Stenen, Hundborg Hoved, Thisted Amt, (L 1507, W 293) nævner en Tuku, ᛏᚢᚴᚢ *(acc.)*, ligesom Navnet anföres, ligeledes i *acc.*, Tuko, ᛏᚢᚴᛅ paa Falsberga-Stenen, Valby Sogn, Trögds Herred i Upland (L 688, B 615). Tillidse-Stenen i Sönder Herred paa Laaland (L 1609, W 252-253), ligesom Stäby-Stenen i Östmo Sogn i Södermanland (L 834, B 673), har Navnet Toki ᛏᚦᚴᛁ, aldeles som Oldskrifterne, og et Rögelsekar (L 1960) i Museet for nordiske Oldsager i Kjöbenhavn: Toke. Ellers forekommer Tuki. Den Tuki smiþr, som omtales paa Runestenen ved Kirkedören i Grendsteen i Viborg Amt (L 1513, W 313) er mulig den samme, hvem en nylig paa Hörning Mark i Skanderborg Amt funden, hidtil ubekjendt, Runesteen skyldes, paa hvilken læses : Tuki : smiþr : riþ : stin : ift : Þurgisl : Kuþmutar :

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[1]) O. Worm, Monumenta Danica. — [2]) Finn Magnusens Undersögelse i Ant. Tidsskrift 1843-1845 p. 182-185 og tab. V.

sun : is : hanum : kaf : kuþ : uk : frialsi, efter sædvanlig Skrivemaade: Tóki smiðr reit stein eftir Þorgisl Guðmundarson, is honum gaf guð ok frjálsi, d. e. Toke Smed ristede Runerne paa Stenen efter Thorgils Gudmundson, som gav ham Gud (omvendte ham til Christendommen) og Fribed. Foruden paa tidligere bekjendte forekommer Navnet ᛏᚢᚴᛁ ogsaa paa tvende nylig fundne, den ene i Gylling By i Nærheden af Horsens, den anden paa Fjellerad Mark i Gunderup Sogn, Aalborg Amt.

Blandt de danske Toker ere imidlertid de, der tilhöre den berömte fyenske Slægt, de i Historien mærkeligste[1]. Tóki á Fjóni havde med sin Kone Thorvör tvende Sönner Áki eller Aage, som dræbtes af Harald Blaatands Mænd, fordi man frygtede hans Magt, og Palner eller Palne. Palnes Sön var den berömte Palnatoke i Fyen, en af den Tids mægtigste Mænd i Danmark. Han gjorde, omtrent i Aaret 956, et Tog til England og kom til Bretland eller Wales, hvor han ægtede Olöf, en Datter af Stefner Jarl; han fik da Jarlsnavn og det halve af Stefner Jarls Rige, hvis Bestyrelse han overdrog til Björn den Bretske, Olöfs Fostbroder, der havde raadet til Giftermaalet. Med sin Kone havde han Sönnen Aage (*Aki*), der var Fostbroder til Kong Haralds Sön Svend Tveskæg, hvem Palnatoke understöttede imod hans Fader. Palnatoke besögte jevnlig sin Svigerfader i Bretland, men opholdt sig dog i længere Tid for det meste i Danmark. Efter Styrbjörns Död blev han Höfding i Jomsborg og gav Jomsvikingerne Love. Efterat han (i 985) havde dræbt Harald Blaatand, og Svend Tveskæg var udraabt til Konge, reiste han igjen til Bretland, hvor hans Svigerfader var död, hvis Rige han nu tog i Besiddelse. Da han, ledsaget af Björn den Bretske, efter

[1]) Jvfr. Jómsvíkinga Saga c. 11 flg., Fornmanna Sögur 11 p. 43 flg.

Svend Tveskægs Indbydelse, var tilstede ved det af denne (i 988) foranstaltede Gravöl efter Faderen, var Halvdelen af hans Mandskab Danske og den anden Halvdeel Britter. Paa dette Gravöl vedkjendte Palnatoke sig Haralds Drab og drog derefter igjen tilhage til Bretland og herjede efter Olöfs Död i flere Sömre paa Skotland og Irland. Hans Sönnesön, den unge Vagn Aageson (Akason) var optagen i Forbundet i Jomsborg og deeltog med Jomsvikingerne i Slaget i Hjörungavaag 995, hvor han toges til Fange men skjenkedes Livet. Han havde en Sön, som hed Aage og var Höfding paa Bornholm († 1020) og denne igjen en Sön Vagn († c. 1050), hvis Sön Aage ogsaa var Höfding paa Bornholm († 1080).

Grev Pallig eller Paling, upaatvivlelig Palne, som var gift med Gunnhild, en Datter af Harald Blaatand, kom fra Danmark til England, hvor han med sin Kone gik over til Christendommen. Han holdt snart med det ene, snart med det andet af de da i England stridende Partier. Han blev rigelig begavet med Jordegods, Guld og Sölv af Kong Ethelred, men, da Kongen hadede de i Landet værende Danske, lod ogsaa denne sig bestemme til at tage sine Landsmænds Parti. Efter Kong Ethelreds Befaling, udstædt til de forskjellige Landskaber i England, at myrde alle der boende Danske uden Hensyn til Stand, Alder eller Kjön, udförtes dette skrækkelige Blodbad paa St. Briccii Dag, den 13de November, 1002. Blandt de ved denne Leilighed myrdede var ogsaa Grev Palne og hans Hustru Gunnhild samt deres spæde Sön. Denne Palne var höist rimelig, hvilket Suhm ogsaa antager, en Sön af Palnatoke, opkaldt efter dennes Fader. Derfor synes at tale saavel Navnet som Svogerskabet og den Betydning, denne Mand vandt i England strax ved hans Ankomst i dette Land;

[1]) Suhms Hist. af Danmark 3 B. S. 337 flg., 350–351.

og neppe har han eller Broderen undladt, efter den Tids almindelige Skik, at opkalde en af sine Sönner efter sin berömte Fader. At en saadan Toke ikke nævnes i vore nordiske Oldskrifter, kan have sin rimelige Grund i den Omstændighed, at han er bleven opdragen i England og er forbleven der bosiddende. Antager man en saadan Toke født i 990 og en Sön af ham, hvem man har givet det i Familien hyppige Navn Aage, 30 Aar derefter i 1020, saa vilde i Aaret 1050 Faderen have været 60 Aar gammel og Sönnen 30 Aar.

Omtrent fra dette Aar, eller i alt Fald fra eet af Aarene 1046-1060, er et Gavebrev af Biskop Ealdred (Wigornensis ecclesiæ episcopus) til Munkene ved vor Frue St. Mariæ Kirke i Worcester (Uuigornaceastre), ifölge hvilket han skjenker til denne Kirke et Landgods *(rus)*, kaldet Deotinctun, tilligemed en dertil liggende Landsby Ælfsigestun. Dette Landgods havde Kongens meget mægtige og rige Hirdmand *(præpotens et dives minister regis)* Toke for sin Levetid besiddet frit for alle Afgifter med Undtagelse af de Kongelige, men han havde, för sin Död ved Testament skjenket det til Biskoppen formedelst det mellem dem bekræftede Venskab og for sin Sjæls Fred; men hans Sön ved Navn Aage *(Áki)*, en mægtig Mand og ligeledes Kongens Hofsinde, vilde gjöre Faderens Testament ugyldigt og tilbagefordrede Landgodset som sig tilhörende ifölge hans Arveberettigelse efter Faderen. Da imidlertid saavel Kongen som Leofric Jarl og denne Provinds's övrige ypperste Mænd bifaldt og samtykte Gaven, havde Aage mod et Vederlag af 8 Mark reneste Guld overdraget ham det, frigjort saavel fra hans Fordring som fra hvilkensomhelst Fordring, der kunde grunde sig paa Arveberettigelse, og ved et ved Vidner bekræftet skriftligt Document bestemt, at Biskoppen skulde kunne uden nogen Modsigelse give eller sælge det til hvemsomhelst han vilde.

Dette mærkelige Document er underskrevet af Kong Edvard og Dronning Eadgid, af selve Biskop Ealdred, af Höveds-mændene Leofric, Ælfgar og Odda, og af Hirdmændene Owine, Wagen, Berthric Ælfgarson, Atsor og Osgod. Af de her nævnte Vidner er Wagen (Vagn) rimeligviis af selv samme Slægt, og, ligesom Odda, Adzer (Özur) og Asgaut, af dansk Herkomst.

Det er upaatvivlelig den samme her nævnte Toki, der ogsaa anföres i en Deel andre Documenter fra den nærmest foregaaende Tid, saaledes i et af Knud den Store af 1019, hvor han nævnes: Toga minister, i et af samme 1033: Tokig miles, i et af Biskop Ædelnod i 1033: Tokig, i et af Hardeknud 1042 ligeledes: Tokig miles, i et af Eadweard 1042: Toky minister, i et af Eadweard 1043: Ðokig minister. Sönner upaatvivlelig af denne Toke: Care (Kári), Ulf og Askyl nævnes i Documenter af 1046 og 1060[2]. Vi have her en Toke fra den Tid, den i London fundne Runesteen kan antages at være, og er det vist ikke usandsynligt, at det er netop ham, som nævnes i dens Indskrift.

De puncterede Runers Anvendelse i Indskriften, ᛏ, som forekommer tre Gange, og ᚠ, der rimeligviis maa læses saaledes i det tredie Ord, henviser til en noget senere Tid, end den de ældste bevarede Runeindskrifter tilhöre, og passer godt for den her angivne Tidsalder.

En Særegenhed ved Runerne er ogsaa de paa Bistavene eller Tværstregerne anbragte Prikker. Aldeles lignende findes paa den ene af Sjonhem-Stenene paa Gulland

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[1]) See Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonici; opera Johannis M. Kemble, Londini t. IV. 1846, p. 75, 138-139; 141-143; t. VI. 1848 p. 194, 195, 197. Jvfr. The Saxon Chronicle ed. John Ingram p. 284-285, hvor der ved Aaret 1079 nævnes en Tokig Viggodes sun.

(L 1592) ifölge en mig af Carl Säve velvilligen meddeelt, nylig af hans Broder P. A. Säve udfört Tegning; og kan denne Indskrift, som omtaler en Mand, der blev dræbt i Valachiet, rimeligviis ogsaa antages at være fra det samme Aarhundrede. Paa disse Sjonhem-Stene findes Slangefigurer med Slyngninger, der ligne dem, som ere anbragte paa og ved de paa Londoner-Stenen forestillede Dyr. Som ovenanfört, findes de samme Motiver paa Gorm den Gamles Mindesteen ved Jellinge, der egner sig til at fremstilles til Sammenligning.

De her ommeldte Documenter ere udgivne i „Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonici opera Johannis M. Kemble". Da dette vigtige Værk er sjeldent her i Norden, har jeg troet det hensigtsmæssigt at vedföie her fire af disse Documenter, af hvilke de tvende angelsaxiske meddeeltes med Oversættelse af George Stephens. De to förste af disse Documenter vedkomme Donationer af Kong Knud den Store til St. Pauls Monasterium eller Kirke i London, det tredie af Erkebiskop Ædelnod anmelder en testamentarisk Bestemmelse af Tokigs (rimeligviis den samme Tokes) Frænde Wulfnad, og det fjerde er ovenmeldte Actstykke af Biskop Ealdred, vedkommende det Testament, hvorved Kongens mægtige og rige Hofsinde Toke overdrog Biskoppen Landgodset Deotinctun med tilliggende Landsby Ælfsigestun.

MCCCXIX. CNUT, omtrent 1033 (t. VI p. 183).

† Ic Cnud cyng gréte míne biscopes and míne eorles and ealle míne þegenas on ðán scíran ðær míne preóstas on sanctes Paules mynstre habbað land inne freóndlíce; and ic cíðe eów ðæt ic wylle ðæt hig beón heóra saca hére and sócna weorð, tolles and teámes, binnan tíd and búton tíd, and swá full and swá forð swá hig hæfdon on

ænigcs cynges deage fyrmest on ællan þingan, binnan burh and bútan; and ic nelle geðafian ðæt nán man æt ænigum þingan heom misbeóde. And ðyses is tó gewitnesse, Ægelnóð arcebiscop, and Ælfríc arcebiscop, and Ælwi biscop, and Ælfwine biscop, and Duduce biscop, and Godwine eorl, and Leófríc eorl, and Osgod Clape, and Ðored, and óðre genoge. God hine áweorge ðe ðis áwænde.

d. e. Jeg Knud Konge hilser mine Biskopper og mine Jarler og alle mine Undersaatter i den Shire (Provinds), hvor mine Præster til St. Pauls Domkirke eie Landgods; og jeg forkynder at jeg vil at de skulle være Herrer over disses Jurisdiction og Asylret, deres Told og Appellret i alle Henseender, og dette i en saa fuld Udstrækning som de besade dem i nogen Konges Tid, fremst for alle Ting baade uden Borg og inden; og jeg vil ei taale at nogensomhelst foruretter dem i nogen Henseende. Og herpaa ere Vidner Ægelnod Erkebiskop og Ælfric Erkebiskop og Ælwi Biskop og Duduce Biskop og Godwin Jarl og Leofric Jarl og Osgod Clape og Thored og endvidere flere. Gud ham forbande, som dette vil hindre!

MCCCXX. CNUT, omtrent 1033 (t. VI p. 183).

† In nomine domini dei saluatoris nostri Ihesu Christi! Ego Cnudus Anglorum rex concedo tibi Ælfwino episcopo, pro meae animae remedio, sciens michi in futuro prodesse saeculo quicquid in praesenti uita largitus fuero, omnes terras iuris mei uel antecessorum meorum ad augmentum monasterii beati Pauli apostoli, gentium doctoris, quod positum est in ciuitate Lundoniae, omnes has terras consentiens confirmaui, testantibus episcopis et comitibus et istius terrae principibus. Si quis uero harum terrarum condonationem contradicere praesumpserit a Paradisiaco consortio exul existat. Amen.

MCCCXXI. ÆÐELNÓÐ, omtrent 1033 (t. VI p. 184)

† Her swuteliað on ðisse Cristes béc Æðelnóðes arcebisceopes forword and Tokiges embe ðæt land æt Healtúne; ðæt wæs ðæt Tokig com tó Hrisbeorgan tó ðám arcebisceop sýððan Æðelflæd his wíf forðfaren wæs, and cýðde him Wulfnóðes cwyde ðæt he ðæt land becweden hæfde intó Cristes cyrcean æfter his dæge and his wífes, and bæd done arcebisceop ðæt he ðæt land habban móste his dæg; and æftær his dæge ðæt hit lage intó Cristes cyrcean mid ealle þingum ðe he ðæron getilian mihte unbesacen, and cwæð ðæt he wolde ðám biscope þances kepan and his mannum. And se arcebisceop him ðæs tiðude, and sæde ðæt he riht wið hine gedón hæfde, ðæt he sylf him for ðám cwyde secgean wolde, ðeh he hit ær ful georne wiste. And ðises wæs tó gewitnysse, Æðelstán æt Bleddehlæwe, and Leófwine his sunu, and Leófríc æt Eaningadene, and feala óðra góðra cnihta, ðeh we hi ealle ne nemnon, and eall ðæs arcebiscopes hired ge gehádude ge læwede [1].

d. e. Her forkyndes i denne Christi Bog Erkebiskop Ædelnods og Tokigs Forord om dette Landstykke ved Healtun (? Halton i Buckinghamshire). Det var at Tokig kom til Hrisbeorg (? Risborough i Buckinghamshire) til Erkebiskoppen, efterat hans Kone Ædelfled var död og tilkjendegav for ham (sin Faders eller ældre Broders) Wulfnods testamentariske Bestemmelse, at han havde testamenteret dette Landstykke til Christs Kirke efter sin og sin Kones Död; og bad han Erkebiskoppen at han (Tokig) maatte besidde dette Landstykke, saa længe han levede, men at det efter hans Död skulde uden Indsigelse tilfalde Christs Kirke tilligemed alle derpaa i hans Besiddelsestid skete Forbedringer; og lovede han at han

[1]) Cfr. Nr. MCCCXXXVI, Eádsige arcebisceop 1045–1052.

vilde vedligeholde det for Biskoppen og hans Mænd uden Betaling. Heri samtykte Erkebiskoppen, og sagde at han havde handlet ret i selv at gjöre ham bekjendt med dette Testamente; ihvorvel han vidste det godt forud. Og hertil vare Vidner Ædelstan af Bleddeblæw (? Bledlow i Buckinghamshire), og Leofwin hans Sön, og Leofric af Eaninggaden, og flere andre gode Mænd, ihvorvel vi nævne dem ikke alle, og Erkebispens hele Hird, baade Klerke og Lægfolk.

DCCCV. EALDRED, 1046-1060 (t. IV p. 138—139).

Regnante in perpetuum rege regum domino nostro Ihesu Christo! Ego Ealdredus Wigornensis aecclesiae episcopus, quandam telluris partem, scilicet rus quod ab incolis Þeotinctun vocatur cum alio uiculo ad illud pertinente qui Ælfsigestun nominatur, tres, uidelicet, hidas terrarum in duabus, ut prædixi, uillulis, cum licentia domini mei regis Eaduuardi, pro remedio animae meae et ipsius domini mei, deo et sanctae dei genetrici Mariae condono ad usus fratrum deo seruientium in aecclesia ipsius sanctae et perpetuae uirginis Mariae in Uuigornaceastre; ut habeant et possideant iure aecclesiastico perpetua haereditate, cum saca et socno, tolle et teame, reditibus et campis, pascuis et pratis, et cunctis utilitatibus ad praenotatam uillam pertinentibus. In ciuitate etiam Uuigorna curtem unam ad eam pertinentem, ut habeant et pacifice utantur, et quamdiu fides christiana in Anglia permanserit, his donationibus minime careant. Hanc terram Toki, praepotens et diues minister regis, iure haereditariae successionis, liberam ab omni servitio humano, praeter regale, quod dumtaxat toti patriae commune est, quamdiu uixerit, tenens, mihi, ob amicitiam inter nos confirmatam et pro animae suae remedio moriens testamento donauit. Sed cum filius suus Aki nomine, potens et ipse minister regis, patris testamentum

irritum facere uolens, eam parentum successione ad suum ius reclamasset, fauente et consentiente ipso domino meo rege, et Leofrico comite et caeteris optimatibus huius provinciae attestantibus, datis sibi .viii. marcis auri purissimi, liberam a sua et ab omni parentelae suae haereditaria proclamatione, eam mihi reddidit, et scripto coram testibus firmato reconsignauit, ut libere eam possem dare seu uendere cuicumque uellem absque ullius contradictione. Unde et ego cum licentia ipsius domini mei regis, deo et sanctae dei genetrici, ad aecclesiam quae sita est, ut praediximus, in Uuigornaceastre, ita eam liberam trado sicut ipse eam liberam ipse tenebat et ego eam liberam ab eo accepi, tam a seruitio uillae episcopalis Breodune, ad quam dicebatur antiquis temporibus pertinere debuisse, licet hoc nullius iam uiuentis hominis memoria posset recolere, quam a caeteris cuiuscumque hominis seruitiis, praeter, ut diximus, regis, iuxta morem patriae. Sit autem, ut praediximus, haec terra libera a Breodune, ab omni seruitio tam aecclesiastico quam saeculari et episcopali etiam, cum saka et socne, tolle et teame, ciricsceatte, et decimis, et omnibus reditibus, ita ut nullus successorum meorum, aut eorum praepositi, ad Breodune quicquam seruitii de hac terra, nec de pertinentibus ad eam, habeant reclamare, quia iniustum est.

† Ego Eaduuardus rex Anglorum donationem hanc mea licentia factam signo crucis munio. † Ego Eadgid regina Anglorum consensi. † Ego Ealdredus episcopus consensi. † Ego Leofricus dux consensi. † Ego Ælfgarus dux consensi. † Ego Odda dux consensi. † Ego Owine minister. † Ego Wagen minister. † Ego Berhtric Ælfgares sunu. † Ego Atsor minister. † Ego Osgod apud Healiea.

I England henledes Opmærksomheden først paa dette Monument ved en med Træsnit oplyst Meddelelse desangaaende af Hr. Knowles i „Illustrated London News."

August 28, 1852 (Nr. 576, vol. XXI p. 157), hvori han omtaler at han agtede at lade tage en Afstöbning af Stenen, som han havde bestemt at offerere til Antiquarernes Selskab i London „i den Forvisning", som han udtrykker sig, „at nationale Monumenter fra Oldtiden frembyde en dobbelt Interesse, naar de opdages i de ældste Dele af vor Hovedstad". Af en Beretning fra dette Selskab sees, at Hr. Knowles's Meddelelse afgaves i dets Möde Thorsdagen den 20de Januar 1853 og til denne föiede Selskabets Medlem W. D. Sawl Esq. nogle Bemærkninger om Runeindskriftens Indhold. Han havde desangaaende skrevet til to Venner i Lancashire, som godt forstode sig paa Indskriftens Characterer og Sprog; disse havde været enige om at læse det förste Ord INA.

Som det synes, havde man den Gang i dette Londoner Selskab ikke bemærket, at allerede i Morning Chronicle af September 18, 1852 havde denne Tidendes Correspondent i Kjöbenhavn, foranlediget ved Meddelelsen i „Illustrated London News" leveret Bemærkninger om Stenen og dens Indskrift, der med Undtagelse af det förste Navn ingen Vanskelighed frembyder. Dette förste Navn har han, efter den tidligere Afbildning, læst EINA og meent kunde maaskee være EINAR, et vel bekjendt oldnordisk Navn. Vi ville ikke nægte vore Læsere den Tilfredsstillelse i övrigt af hans Bemærkninger her at kunne læse följende: „Denne uskatteerlige Oldtidslevning er en nordisk Runesteen, upaatvivlelig dansk, opreist over nogen Hövdings Grav. Den fantastiske Dragefigur ligner flere paa andre scandinaviske Monumenter og har en paafaldende Overeensstemmelse med Forestillinger, der forekomme paa mange af de gamle Guldbracteater, som ere fundne hist og her i de nordiske Lande."

„Dette Monument er eneste i sit Slags, den eneste danske Runesteen der er bekjendt at existere i England, og skylder sin Bevaring den Omstændighed, at den har

'været nedgraven i Jorden. Runernes Characteer med videre viser at Indskriften ikke hörer til den allerældste Art og heller ikke til den alleryngste. Jeg skulde være tilböielig til at henföre den til det 10de eller 11te Aarhundrede. Muligen vilde fortsatte Udgravninger have bragt flere lignende Skatte for Lyset eller i det mindste selve Gravens Indhold. Man kan vist vente, at selve Stenen strax vil blive offereret til vort National-Museum, hvor den passende vil begynde Rækken af britiske Gravmonumenter med Indskrifter. Dansken maa have været et mægtigt Element i vor oldengelske Stamme, naar den Nations Höydinger kunde ligge i vor Hovedstad uforurettede og med deres nationale Erindringer om sig. Der er intet paa Stenen, som kan lede os til at antage, at den her begravne eller hans Venner have været Christne. Skulde det Britiske Museum nægtes dette prægtige Monument, som jeg dog ikke kan bringe mig selv til at troe, burde man i det mindste drage Omsorg for at der tages en nöiagtig Afstöbning af Stenen, förend Overfladen beskadiges ved Tilfælde eller Luftens Paavirkning."

Det Haab, som Correspondenten her udtaler, synes ikke at være gaaet i Opfyldelse, eftersom en Beretning om Mödet i det Archæologiske Institut af 4de Februar 1853 ommelder, at man forgjeves har gjort Forsög paa at erhverve denne mærkværdige Oldtidslevning for det Britiske Museum, og at den nærværende Eier havde besluttet at beholde Stenen ophængt i sit Varelager formodentlig for at vække Kjöbernes Opmærksomhed.

Med Hensyn til den ovenmeldte Yttring, at der er intet paa Stenen, som henviser til at den begravne eller hans Venner, som reiste Stenen, vare Christne, da forholder det sig vistnok med Hensyn til Forestillingerne saa, men derved maa dog bemærkes, at den samme Smag, som tilhörte den seneste Periode af Hedenolden her i

Norden, vedligeholdt sig ind i Christendommens förste Tider, hvorom talrige, tildeels ogsaa den christelige Gudstjeneste vedkommende, Levninger vidne. Med Indskriften derimod turde vel Forholdet stille sig noget anderledes, da man vel kan antage, at Anvendelsen af de puncterede Runer henvise til en Tid, da Christendommen var udbredt i Norden og det latinske Alphabet der kjendt.

Af de ovenanförte Meddelelser vil det sees, at vi skylde Hr. Knowles's Interesse for den nordiske Archæologie, at saavel Antiquarernes Selskab i London som vort Selskab her i Kjöbenhavn har erholdt paalidelige Afstöbninger af dette dansk-britiske Monument.

Nogle af eet af vort Selskabs Medlemmer THORLEIF GUDM. REPP meddelte Bemærkninger om denne Runesteen antages at være af Interesse som afgivende yderligere Oplysninger, og tilföies derfor her.

Rune-Indskriften paa denne Steen er overmaade klar og tydelig; blot med Undtagelse af de to allerförste Bogstaver, eftersom Stenen paa dette Sted er sönderbrudt. Vel var jeg dog i Begyndelsen, saalænge jeg intet andet havde at holde mig til end Tegningen i "Illustrated London News" tilböielig til at antage at "Morning Chronicle's" Correspondents Læsemaade endogsaa af disse to Bogstaver, var den rigtige, ihvorvel den Omstændighed, at Navnet Eina, som ikke lettelig forekommer i noget nordisk eller keltisk Sprog, ikke er gunstig for samme; men nu troer jeg det kan ansees for sikkert, at Etatsraad Rafn har ved Hjælp af Afstöbningen, som naturligviis er accuratere end Tegningen, udfundet den rette Læsemaade, saa at man bör læse: KONA : LET : etc., hvilket, ifölge Runeindskrifternes bekjendte Bogstav-Karrighed, er at opfatte, som om det var skrevet KONAL : LET. etc. Om ingen

af de övrige Bogstaver kun der næres mindste Tvivl, ikke en Gang om Bogstavet ᚦ i Ordet þensi, skjönt Stenen her synes at være lidt beskadiget.

Indskriften er arrangeret βουστροφηδὸν, og hvert af dens syv Ord adskilt fra det efterfölgende med tydelige to Punkter : afskreven med latinske Bogstaver faaer den et saadant Udseende:

KONA : LET : LEKIA : ST

: IKIL : KUA : ISNEÞ : EIN

Heraf sees nu tillige at Indskriften — i det mindste for dens eget Vedkommede — er aldeles heel, og at slet intet mangler i den; thi den begynder ved Randen, eller Grændsen af Stenens bearbeidede eller tilhuggede Deel og den omdreiede Linie naaer igjen næsten til samme Rand, saa at her ikke er Plads for et eneste Ord til. Heller ikke er der Plads for nogen Linie, da Indskriften saa temmelig udfylder hele den Margin, som er levnet udenfor Sculpturen. Saaledes er Mr. Knowles's Paastand om Indskriftens Integritet fuldkommen beviist.

Mr. Knowles kalder denne Steen en *Hovedsteen* (head stone), fordi, ifölge hans Beskrivelse, den har været opreist paa samme Maade, i skraa vertical Retning, som saadanne Stene eller Tabletter endnu ofte opreises paa engelske og andre Kirkegaarde ved Hovedet af en Grav.

I sin förste Meddelelse til „Illustrated London News" har Mr. Knowles intet meldt om det Menneske-Skelet, som han udförligt omtaler i Brevet til det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskabs Secretair. Maaskee kan man deraf slutte, at Skelettet först senere er blevet opdaget.

Indskriften indeholder aldeles intet, som antyder at den er en Mindesteen efter en afdöd Person: den Omstændighed, som snarest skulde tilkjendegive dette, er Stillingen, i hvilken Stenen er opreist; dog kan denne Stilling næppe betragtes som noget afgjörende Beviis, da

Hensigten med en saadan Stilling ikke var nogen anden, end at Indskriften mere skulde falde i Öiet og læses lettere. Hvis denne Steen skal kaldes en Mindesteen efter en Afdöd, saa maatte det være i Ordets uegentligste Betydning, siden den aldeles intet melder om den afdöde Person, om hvilken den skulde minde.

Kun i det Tilfælde at Konal og Tuke i deres levende Live havde ladet Stenen tilhugge, og saa befalet, at den skulde opreises ved Hovedet af deres Grav efter deres Död, kunde den siges at være et, men dog temmelig utydeligt Slags af Mindesteen efter dem. Dog vilde dette være et nyt Factum i Runemonumenternes Historie.

I ethvert Tilfælde afviger den foreliggende Indskrift fra den sædvanlige Indskrifts Formel. Det hedder ikke her, som sædvanlig „N. N. *reiste* denne Steen", men „*lod lægge* denne Steen", hvorvel Stenen ifölge Mr. Knowles's Forklaring rettere kan siges at være *reist* end *lagt*.

Maaskee blev denne Hoved-Steen opreist ved Hovedet af en anden liggende Steen, som indeholdt den Begravedes Navn, og da vilde Verbet *leggia* referere sig til den horizontale Steen, og ei til selve Stenen, hvorpaa vor Indskrift findes. Noget lignende forekommer endnu den Dag i Dag ved engelske Grave. I dette Tilfælde vilde nærværende Indskrift ikke være noget andet end en Tillægs- eller Hjælpe-Indskrift.

Denne sidste Conjectur vinder noget Sandsynlighed, naar vi betænke Stedet, hvor Stenen er funden. Paa den foreliggende Hoved-Steen findes nemlig aldeles intet, som er christeligt; og dog bliver man vist let enig om, at den ikke vel kan være ældre end fra det 10de eller 11te Aarhundrede. Men en virkelig Gravsteen, *opsat i London* i denne Periode, maatte nödvendigviis være christelig. London var fuldkommen christen længe för det 10de Aarhundrede. At denne Stad flere Gange blev taget af indbrydende

Hedninger, kan her næppe komme i Betragtning. Hedningernes Occupation var aldrig langvarig og slet ikke saa sikker, at de kunde tænke paa at opföre hedenske Monumenter. Og hvis de havde gjort dette, vilde da saadanne Monumenter ret længe have faaet Lov til at staae? Naar vi derimod forudsætte, at denne Indskrift kun er en Tillægs-Indskrift og denne Steen kun en Hoved-Steen, og at der foruden den maa have været en anden horizontalt liggende Gravsteen, saa maa vi tillige antage, at denne nu tabte Steen indeholdt den Afdödes Navn, den sædvanlige Bön for hans Sjæl, Korsets Tegn o. s. v.

Det vil maaskee befindes at være mest sandsynligt at dette Monument skriver sig fra Knud den Stores Tid. Men i saa Tilfælde maatte det egentlige Gravminde være ganske christeligt og den Christendom, som savnes paa denne *Hoved-Steen*, maatte da findes paa den egentlige Gravsteen i en udförligere Indskrift, til hvilken den nærværende da maatte betragtes som et blot Supplement.

Verbet *leggja*, som tilvisse er usædvanligt, forekommer mig at indeholde en Beviisgrund for denne Conjectur.

THORL. GUDM. REPP.

Af de ovenfor indförte Artikler vil det bemærkes, at baade en engelsk og en islandsk Lærd, hvis Stemmer have Vægt, have yttret den samme Formening, som Betragtning af Forestillingerne paa Stenen og Indskriftens Undersögelse, saavel i palæographisk Henseende som i Henseende til Sprog og Indhold, have ledet mig til, nemlig at det er et dansk Mindesmærke vi have for os, hidrörende fra det 11te Aarhundrede, omtrent fra Knud den Stores Tidsalder.

Denne Formenings Grund vil imidlertid vinde större Fasthed og dens Betydning större Klarhed ved Monumentets Sammenligning med et i næste Artikkel omhandlet

analogt dansk Mindesmærke, hvis Tidsalder kan nogenlunde bestemt angives og med flere danske Indskrifter af samme Categorie.

BEMÆRKNINGER OM GORM DEN GAMLES OG THYRE DANABØDS MINDESTENE I JELLINGE;

VED C. C. RAFN.

NORDENS OLDSPROG og flere Grene af den nordiske Oldtidsvidenskab vilde upaatvivlelig vinde Oplysninger, som fremtidige Granskere ville skatte höit, hvis man kunde blive i Stand til at revidere og paa ny udgive de hidtil bekjendte Runeindskrifter og föie dertil de ikke saa ganske faa senere opdagede samt ledsage dette hele Apparat med Indices til Veiledning saavel i sproglig Henseende som ogsaa i historisk, geographisk og archæologisk. Nærværende Annaler og Antiquarisk Tidsskrift ere passende Bevaringssteder for dette Slags Oldskrifter og passende Organer for deres yderligere Oplysning. Vi ville bestræbe os for at tilfredsstille en vel begrundet Forventning ved i de nærmest følgende Bind, ligesom i dette, at optage Bidrag i denne Retning. — Hvor önskeligt vilde det ikke være, om det lod sig udföre, at disse Bidrag kunde omsider danne en saavidt muligt fuldstændig Samling af de hidtil opdagede nordiske Runeindskrifter. En nidkjær Medarbeider i Sverige, Mag. Carl Säve, Docent i Oldnordisk ved Universitetet i Upsala, har lovet at levere Bidrag til Bearbeidelsen af den svenske Afdeling, der i Omfang vel kan antages at være fjorten Gange större end alle de övrige tilsammentagne. En anden svensk Medarbeider, Hr. Richard Dybeck, har paa antiquariske Reiser i flere Provindser i Sverige allerede samlet værdifulde Materialier til Afbenyttelse for dette Öiemed og lover at fortsætte sine Bestræbelser

i denne Retning. Til den danske Afdeling har man allerede værdifulde Forarbeider og Samlinger. Den norske Afdeling frembyder færre Vanskeligheder, fordi de i Norge værende Runeindskrifters Antal ikke er stort og de fleste findes i Omegnen af Christiania-Fjorden. Vor dygtige norske Medarbeider, P. A. Munch, som i nærværende Annaler (i Bindet for 1850, p. 273—287) har gjort os nöiere bekjendte med de paa Man og Syderöerne værende Runestene, paatager sig gjerne Bearbeidelsen af de i Norge bevarede. De hidtil paa Færöerne, Island og Grönland opdagede Monumenter af denne Classe ere ikke talrige. Hvad der her forelöbig kan tilkjendegives er, at Bestræbelser, som gaae ud paa at oplyse de nordiske Runemindesmærker, kunne, ganske i Overeensstemmelse med vort Selskabs Plan og Formaal, fra sammes Side vente redebon Bistand, og at Beskrivelser af disse Monumenter, oplyste ved Afbildninger, forsaavidt saadanne skulde finde hensigtsmæssige, ville, til Granskeres fremtidige Afbenyttelse, blive optagne i Selskabets archæologiske Tidsskrifter.

Et saadant förste Afsnit, hvis Værd Kjendere ville paaskjönne, af en Beskrivelse over nyopdagede Runemonumenter i Sverige er optaget i nærværende Bind. Ved Bemærkninger meddelte om enkelte deels nyopdagede, deels tidligere bekjendte, danske Runemonumenter bestræber jeg mig for at levere ogsaa et lidet Bidrag til denne Green af den nordiske Oldtidsvidenskab. Jeg har derved alene sat mig til Opgave at levere Indskrifterne saa nöiagtige og fuldstændige, som det har været mig muligt, men ingenlunde lagt Vind paa at tilföie udförlige philologiske og historiske Undersögelser.

Den nuværende Landsby Jelling, som i Oldtiden benævntes JALÁNGR og den Gang, da den dog vel först som en enkelt Gaard, endog i lang Tid var et Kongesæde, havde langt större Betydning end nu, ligger i Jylland halv-

anden Miil i Nordvest fra Kjöbstaden Veile i Tyrild Herred, Veile Amt. Den hörer til de Byer, hvis Navne tidligst forekomme i Fædrelandets Oldhistorie. De islandske Sagaer nævne den allerede i Frode Fredegods Dage; der herskede den Gang, hedder det[1], en almindelig Fred over hele Landet; Ran og Tyveri vare aldeles hævede, saa at en Guldring laa i mange Aar paa den alfare Vei paa Jalangs Hede *(at gullhríngr lá marga vetr á þjóðleið á Jalángrsheiði)*. Senere, i det 2det eller 3die Aarhundrede, opholdt sig ifölge Saxo[2] her paa Gaarden Jalang *(villa Jalanga)* Kong Vermund Frodason.

Jalang nævntes saaledes langt tilbage i den forhistoriske Tid som en Kongsgaard og var det endnu ved den historiske Tidsalders Begyndelse, thi her boede i Slutningen af det 9de og i den förste Hælfte af det 10de Aarhundrede Danmarks berömte Konge Gorm den Gamle, der först forenede de danske Stater under sit Herredömme, og med ham hans ikke mindre navnkundige Dronning Thyre med det betegnende Tilnavn Danabod eller de Danskes Frelse, og her bleve de begge efter deres Död höilagte efter hedensk Skik, eftersom Christendommen först indförtes i deres Söns, Harald Blaatands, Regjeringstid. Svend Aagesen beretter, at denne lod sine Forældre jorde paa hedensk Viis i tvende hinanden lignende Höie som herlige Gravmæler ved Kongsgaarden i Jelling *(tumulis gemellis et paribus, quasi illustribus mausolæis, secus regis curiam in Jelling)*[3], og Saxo anförer ligeledes, at Harald stædte sin Moder Thyres Lig med stor Pragt til Jorden ikke langt fra hendes Mands Gravsted, hvor nu Kirken staaer imellem begge Ægtefællers ved hinanden liggende Gravhöie *(ubi nunc sacrarium perspicere est duorum conju-*

[1]) Fornmanna Sögur 11 p. 413 i det förste der indförte Sögubrot jfr. Snorra Edda t. 1 p. 376, Skáldskaparmál c. 43. — [2]) Hist. Dan., ed. Mülleri p. 163. — [3]) Langebek, Script. rer. Dan. I, p. 51.

gum socialibus bustis intersitum)[1]. Disse tvende Gravhöie, der ere af en overordentlig Störrelse, svarende til de Personers Betydning, over hvilke de vare opförte, ere endnu talende Vidnesbyrd fra hin fjerne Tid, og ligger Gorms Höi sönden for Kirkegaarden men Thyres norden for samme. Tilfældige Arbeider, som foretoges i 1820, foranledigede en nöiere Undersögelse af Dronningens Gravhöi, som afgav et höist interessant antiquarisk Udbytte[2].

Tvende Runestene, som vi her nærmere ville omtale, stode tidligere, hvilket ogsaa deres Indskrifter antyde, paa disse tvende Gravhöie, men de ere nu begge, den paa Kongens Höi allerede i 1586, efter Foranstaltning af den daværende Lehnsmand paa Koldinghuus Casper Markedaner til Sögaard, henflyttede til Kirkegaarden.

Allerede Ole Worm har i Monumenta Danica 1643 (p. 331—341) meddeelt Afbildninger af begge Stene og har tilföiet Fortolkning af Indskrifterne, der imidlertid trængte til yderligere Berigtigelse, hvortil Bidrag leveredes navnligen ved en af S. Abildgaard 1771 udfört Afbildning og ved en senere, 1811, af M. F. Arendt tager Afskrift.

Særdeles værdifulde Oplysninger har Finn Magnusen, der selv i 1821 besögte Stedet og undersögte Indskrifterne, om disse og tvende andre de samme Monumenter vedkommende meddeelt i Antiquariske Annaler[3], og R. Rask, som senere, i Juli 1823, ogsaa tog selve Indskrifterne i Öiesyn, föiede dertil enkelte yderligere Bemærkninger. Dette Apparat giver ypperlig Veiledning. Tillige har jeg benyttet de af Adam Müller udförte fortrinlige Afbildninger i större Maalestok, der ere bestemte for den af hans Fader bearbeidede Udgave af Saxo, hvilke bleve mig af Professor Velschow, der har

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[1]) l. c. p. 486. — [2]) See Antiquariske Annaler IV, 1 p. 64 og flg.; jfr. nærv. Annaler 1810—1841, p. 167—176. — [3]) IV, 1, p. 100—123, 267—271.

overtaget denne Udgaves Fuldførelse, velvilligen laante[1]. Derhos har jeg, for om muligt at supplere Indskriftens Fortolkning, brevvexlet med Stedets Præst Hr. Seminarieforstander Carl Emil Kemp, der har jevnført den tagne Copie med selve Indskrifterne paa Stenene og bestræbt sig for at skimte enkelte af de Træk, der ikke havde været gjengivne. Hans Meddelelser have afgivet Bidrag til Monumenternes fuldstændigere Oplysning.

THYRE DANEBODS MINDESTEEN I JELLINGE.

Thyre Danebod, Gorm den Gamles Dronning, var ifölge de islandske Skribenter en Datter af Klakk-Harald, Jarl over Jylland *(af Jótlandi)*[2] eller Holsteen, *(rèð fyrir Hollsetulandi)*[3], vel især over Angeln. Saxo derimod siger at hun var en Datter af den engelske Kong Edelred *(Anglorum regis Edelradi filia)*[4]. Suhm söger at forene disse Beretninger ved at antage hendes Fader Harald for en Sön af Gurmund eller Guthrum, dansk Konge i Ost-Angeln, hvorved Thyres engelske Herkomst vilde bekræftes. Rimeligere hidrører Fæderens Navn hos Saxo fra Misforstand af Angli, som man har udlagt ved Englændere istedenfor Angler. De gamle historiske Skrifter ere enige i at prise hendes fortrinlige Egenskaber, hendes Skjönhed, hendes Klogskab og Mandhaftighed. Svend Aagesens Skildring af disse[5] stemmer ganske med Islændernes Angivelser

[1]) Disse Tegninger ere allerede udförte i smukke Kobberstik af P. C. Schöler. Archivsecretair A. Strunk var saa beredvillig at meddele mig til Afbenyttelse de forskjellige Tegninger og Aftryk, som bevares i det antiquarisk-topographiske Archiv, blandt hvilke han især fremhæver som „meget gode" de for Illustreret Danmarks Historie af A. Fabricius efter Adam Müllers Afbildninger af M. Petersen reducerede og raderede Blade. — [2]) Snorre Hk. 1 p. 79; Fornmanna Sögur 1 p. 2, 115—116. — [3]) Jómsvíkinga Saga c. 2, Fornm. S. 11 p. 3—8. — [4]) Hist. af Danmark 2 p. 438. — [5]) Sven. Agg. hist. reg. Daniæ, Langebeks Script. rer. Dan. 1. p. 28.

Saxo kalder hende *Daniæ majestatis caput* og Svend Aagesen *regni decus* eller *decus Daciæ*. Annalerne benævne hende med det Navn, hun endnu sædvanlig bærer, DANABÓT, de Danskes Frelse, ligesom hendes ældste Sön Knud, Guld-Haralds Fader, förte Tilnavnet *Danaást*, de Danskes Kjærlighed. I de islandske Sagaer derimod, saavel hos Snorre som i Olaf Tryggvasons Saga og i Jómsvíkínga Saga, förer hun det selvsamme Tilnavn som paa Jellinge-Stenen: DANMARKARBÓT[1]. Dette skjönne Tilnavn, Danmarks Pryd, Frelse eller Forbedrerinde, skal hun have faaet, fordi hun ved sin Fremsynethed og kloge Raad frelste Landet i Uaar[2].

Den særskilte Mindesteen over Thyre Danebod er af Granit, 5 Fod höi og 3 Fod bred. Den forreste Side, som er flad, har tre Runelinier. Den anden Side er buget og har ligesom tre Flader, og paa den midterste af disse findes

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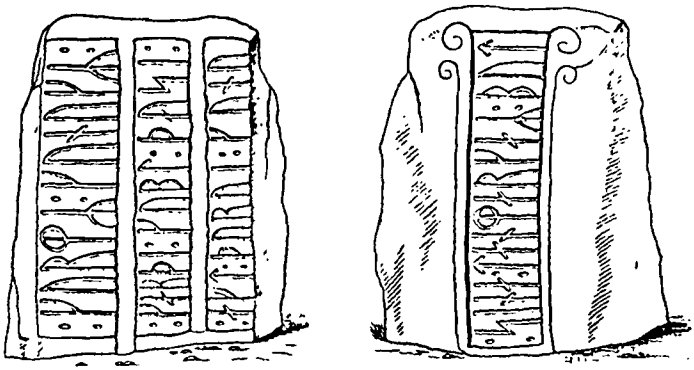
[1]) Dette, „Danmarkebot", forekommer ogsaa i en anonym Forfatters Genealogia regum Daniæ og i Capiteloverskriften hos Svend Aagesen, Scr. rer. Dan. 1 p. 22, 48. — [2]) Dette Navn stemmer saaledes i Betydningen, ligesom i Henseende til Sammensætningens sidste Ord, med det Tilnavn, man gav Harald Haarfagers Datter Olöf, nemlig ARBÓT, *annonæ-levatrix*, fordi hun ved sine vise Foranstaltninger forbedrede Aaringerne eller frelste Landet i Uaar, *gerði mönnum árbót*, som man derom dengang udtrykte sig (Fornm. Sögur 2 p. 74). Forbedring i Klædedragt benævnes BÚNINGSBÓT i Áns saga bogsveigis c. 2, Fornaldar Sögur Norðrlanda 2, p. 329; saaledes betyder ogsaa HUGARBÓT Sindsforbedring eller Trøst (see Sv. Egilssons Lex. poët. ant. lingvæ sept. under *bót* p. 71). I Olaf Kyrres Tid anvendtes i Nidaros en stor Klokke til at sammenkalde Gildebrödrene, hvilken benævntes BÆJARBÓT, der udlægges Byens Pryd (*oppidi ornamentum*, see Fornm. Sögur 6 p. 440). At Verbet *bæta* har en lignende Betydning sees af Eymundar Saga (c. 1, Fornm. S. 5 p. 267, Ant. Russes t. 2 p. 174), hvor det siges om Olaf Haraldson og Eymund Ringson, at disse to Fostbrödre i deres Ungdom vænnede sig til alle de Idrætter, *er karlmann bætti*, som prydede en Mand.

Indskriftens Slutning, een Linie i bred Indfatning ligesom i Baand.

De her vedföiede Afbildninger fremstille den fuldstændige Indskrift paa begge Sider[1]:



Med latinske Versalier bliver denne Indskrift at læse saaledes: KURMR: KUNŪKR: KARÞI: KŪBL: ÞAUSI[2]:

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[1]) Paa den forreste Side ere nu ved Afstödning enkelte Træk beskadigede; denne Beskadigelse fandtes ikke i Worms Tid, hvis Afbildning har disse Runer fuldstændige, men derimod i Abildgaards 1771. Den her meddelte Afbildning viser ved fulde Streger hvad der endnu er synligt af disse Runer. For Nöiagtigheds Skyld tilföies iövrigt her Pastor Kemps Bemærkninger derom: „I anden Linie er af anden Rune Hovedstaven og den venstre Deel af Tværstregen tydelig, den höire Deel derimod næsten udslettet; den tredie Rune er saa at sige ganske udslettet, den fjerde Rune sees tydelig nok. Af tredie Linies anden Rune sees Hovedstaven tydelig, Tværstregerne derimod ere næsten udslettede; af den tredie Rune er den venstre Hage næsten udslettet, Hovedstaven og höire Hage ere derimod tydelige." — [2]) Den 11te Rune i förste Sides anden Linie havde Adam Müller givet med en Tværstreg paa Hovedstaven (ᛏ), medens derimod Worm og Abildgaard her have alene ᚿ. Jeg antog denne Tværstreg, som maatte antyde et ᛏ, der ikke her kunde passe, for en tilfældig Ridse i Stenen, og bad derfor Pastor Kemp nöie at eftersee denne Rune, om der fandtes nogen Tværstreg paa

AFF: ÞURVI: KUNU: SINA: TANMARKAR: BUT. Omskreven efter sædvanlig islandsk Orthographie: Gormr konúngr gerði kumbl þetta (þessi) eftir Þyri, konu sína, Danmarkarbót, d. e. Kong Gorm gjorde denne Höi over sin Kone Thyre Danmarks Pryd.

GORM DEN GAMLES MINDESTEEN I JELLINGE.

Kong Gorms Mindesteen er ligeledes af Granit; dens Grundflade danner en Trekant, hvis ene Side med Hoveddelen af Indskriften har forneden en Brede af 8 Fod 10 Tommer, den anden, hvorpaa en phantastisk Dyrefigur, 5′ 2″ og den tredie, hvorpaa en Christusfigur, 5′, altsaa den hele Steen 19′ i Omkreds forneden. Stenen, hvis Höide over Jorden er 8′ 2″ gaaer pyramidalsk op i en Spids. Paa den anden Side er foroven til venstre et stort Stykke borte, omtrent 1′ i Höide, 13″ i Længde og 8″ i Brede eller Dybde.

Paa den förste Side findes den störste Deel af Indskriften i fire ved dobbelte Tværstreger fra hinanden adskilte Linier. Tværstregerne udvikle sig for Enderne i Snoninger, der fortsættes ovenfor Indskriften. Den her i Texten p. 318 tilföiede Afbildning fremstiller denne Side af Stenen med Hoveddelen af Indskriften, der fortsættes og fuldföres paa de tvende andre Sider.

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dens Hovedstav, hvilken i saa Fald rimelig kunde være vendt den modsatte Led, betegnende ᛏ, ei ᛐ. Hr. Kemp bemærker at der staaer tydelig ᚢ og aldeles sikkert at den förste Stav ikke har Tværstregen for ᛐ, ihvorvel man kan skjelne Grunden til at denne Rune er tegnet saaledes, da der neden for Stavens Midte findes en tilfældig Ridse i Stenen. Om derimod denne Runes forreste Stav har ovenover denne tilfældige Ridse, altsaa paa Stavens Midte, en den modsatte Vei vendende Tværstreg (ᛏ), tör han ikke bekræfte og heller ikke benægte, da der virkelig „sees Spor af en saadan Streg".

Paa den anden Side, af hvilken en Afbildning her meddeles tab. II, sees et phantastisk fiirfödded Dyr, der har nogen Overeensstemmelse med det paa Londoner-Stenen fremstillede, hvis lignende Klöer dog ere noget mere udförte; det har, ligesom dette, en fremstaaende omböiet Tunge men opreiste Takker. Halen ender sig i en fiirdeelt Svands; omkring Dyrets Hals, Krop og Hale er snoet en fuldstændig Slangefigur med Hoved og Hale.

Den anden Side adskilles fra den tredie af en Slags dobbelt gothisk Söile, der er dannet af tvende Snoninger. Disse udvikle sig i fortsatte Slyngninger og Snoninger, der tjene som Indfatning af de paa de tvende Sider anbragte Forestillinger. Underneden denne Indfatning fortsættes Indskriften med een Linie paa den anden Side og sluttes ligeledes med een Linie paa den tredie.

Paa den tredie Side, som er her afbildet tab. III, forestilles en skægget Mandsfigur med en ved Kors betegnet Glorie omkring Hovedet. Denne er upaatvivlelig en Christusfigur; dens aabne Arme synes ikke at være udstrakte men kun betegnende. Den er iförd en snævert sluttende kort Kjole, og Benene synes at være ubedækkede. Slyngninger, der have Lighed med Slangesnoninger, skjönt dog intet Slangehoved her er synligt, omgive Figuren til alle Sider og omfatte tillige saavel Kroppen som Armene.

Indskriften paa den förste Side er ved de ovenanförte tidligere Undersögelser bragt til næsten fuldstændig Klarhed[1]. Ordene ᛇᚼᛋ eller) ᛁᚼᛋ:ᚺᚱᛦ i 4de Linie, som tidligere vare urigtig aftegnede (hos Worm ᚴᚼᛋ ᚺᛦ), læste, ligesom Arendt tid-

[1]) Ved den 16de Rune i anden Linie ᚹ bemærkes, at Adam Müllers Tegning her forneden har to smaae Hager, som skulde antyde ᛦ; disse have hverken Worms eller Abildgaards Afbildninger, og de maae derfor antages tilföiede i en senere Tid, upaatvivlelig af en Rune-Dilettant, der ikke har forstaaet Oldsprogets Former; de have altsaa ingen Værd og maa udelades.

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ligere, Finn Magnusen, efterat Indskriften var renset, upaatvivlelig saaledes rigtig, og Adam Müller har ligeledes gjengivet dem i sin Tegning, ligesom Pastor Kemp har, efter min Anmodning, netop nöie efterseet disse Ord og derved gjort den Bemærkning, at der mellem det forangaaende Navns Slutningsrune ᚱ og Begyndelsesbogstavet ᚾ er en paa den nedenstaaende Afbildning bemærket Udspaltning i Stenen, rimeligviis foranlediget ved et Skilletegn, som der har været anbragt. Midtstregen i det andet Ords Slutningsrune ᛦ er nu aldeles usynlig, og Figuren viser sig som ᛅ. Af disse Ord gav Finn Magnusen den Fortolkning at ᚾᛋ var det relative Pronomen IS, ES, der siden gik over til at blive ER, og ᛋᚱᛅ, SÓR, Imperfectum af *sverja*, sværge. Han formente nemlig at der sigtedes til den Ed, Kong Harald höitidelig aflagde om at antage og befordre den christne Tro. Rask, som bemærker: „Der kan ingen Tvivl være om Læsemaaden ᚾᛋ: ᛋᚱᛅ", har rimeligviis ogsaa bifaldt denne Fortolkning af den, da han ikke yttrer nogen derfra forskjellig Anskuelse. En anden Sprogforsker[1] har fortolket det andet af disse Ord ved SÆR, sig, der altsaa skulde svare til *sèr* efter sædvanlig islandsk Skrivemaade. En tredie ogsaa fortrinlig Sprogforsker[2] formener at ᚾᛋ er Verbet ES, *er*. Det er vistnok utvivlsomt at de nævnte Ord i Runeindskriftens Tidsalder kunne have været og virkelig have været anvendte i de af disse Granskere angivne Betydninger. Udtryksmaaden forekommer mig dog ikke ved nogen af dem ganske rimelig, og jeg vil til nöiere Overveielse fremsætte en fjerde Forklaring, som man neppe heller strax vil skjenke sit Bifald, men som dog har det for sig, at den

[1]) Danmarks Historie i Hedenold af N. M. Petersen 2 p. 153. — [2]) Kortfattet Fremstilling af den ældste nordiske Runeskrift af P. A. Munch, p. 38.

ikke tilförer vort i Runeindskrifter bevarede Oldsprog Udtryksmaader, der dog neppe kunne antages at være i prosaisk Lapidarskrift aldeles sikre.

Man kunde tænke sig at Runeristeren havde efter Kong Harald Blaatands Bud i hans levende Live, (efter Suhms Mening[1] omtrent ved Aaret 978, efter andres omtrent 960), thi til den Tid maatte jo Mönumentet henföres, indhugget Hoveddelen af Indskriften paa denne Side med Ordene ᛋᛏ : ᛝᚱᚱᚾᛏᚱ : ᛁᚾᚴ tilföiede og har da afbrudt sit Arbeide, muligen efter Kongens egen Bestemmelse eller fordi der ikke var i denne Sides Slutningslinie Plads til hvad han havde agtet at udtrykke, rimeligviis: ᚠᚱᛁᚴᛏᚾᚾᚦᛁ : ᛏᚾᚾᛉᚾᚢᚱᚠ, kristnaþi Danmaurk. I denne ufuldförte Tilstand har nu Monumentet i længere Tid henstaaet, maaskee lige til Svend Estridsens Regjering, da man har bestemt sig til at tilföie en Slutning og til denne tillige benyttet de underneden Forestillingerne paa de tvende andre Sider til saadan Anvendelse skikkede Pladser. Den, som paatog sig dette Hverv, har da fundet Udtrykket ᛋᛏ—ᛁᚾᚴ, sá—ias eller ies forældet og har da begyndt sit Arbeide med at tilföie til Forklaring det den Gang brugelige *sá er*, som han har sammentrukket til SÁ'R og ristet ᛋᚼᛦ, det selv samme sammentrukne Ord som det, i Lighed med det ældre ᛋᚾᚴ (L. 624, B 247) dannede, paa mange Runestene forekommende ᛋᛏᛦ (f. Ex. L 192, B 388; L 312, B 267; L 587, B 216), saaledes paa den ene Husby-Steen i Lyhundra Herred i Attundaland i Upland (L 608), hvor der siges at fem Brödre lode reise denne Steen efter deres Broder Svein, som döde i Jylland men skulde have reist til England: ᛋᛏᛦ : ᚢᛏᚱᚦ : ᛏᚢᚦᚱ : ᛏ : ᛁᚢᛏᚢᛏᛁ : ᚦᚦ : ᛋᚠᚢᚢᛏᛁ : ᚠᛏᚱᛏ : ᛏᛁᚢ : ᛁᚠᚢᛏᚦᚦᚴ, d. e. SA'R VARÞ TUÞR A IUTLĀTI ON

[1]) Hist. af Danmark 3, p. 138.

SKULTI FARA TIL IKLANÞS, efter almindelig Retskrivning: „så er varð dauðr à Jótlandi en skyldi fara til Englands".

Det kunde ogsaa være tænkeligt at der oprindelig ikke har staaet ᛁᚴᛋ, som dog er en noget tvivlsom, neppe i ældre Runeindskriften forekommende, Form, uagtet man vel senere finder ᛁᚴᛦ, men alene: ᚴᛋ, som oftere træffes, f. Ex. paa den ene Steen i Nykirke Sogn, Jönåkers Herred i Södermanland (L 895, B 771), som tvende Brödre havde reist til Erindring om deres Broder Svire eller Sverre, som döde i England: ᚴᛋ : ᚢᚴᚱᚦ : ᛏᚴᚢᚦᚱ : ᚼ : ᛁᚴᚴᛏᛏᛁ d. e. AS VARÞ TAUTR O IKLANTI, efter almindelig Skrivebrug „es varð dauðr á Englandi". For at betegne at det följende Ord var en tilföiet Forklaring af det alt staaende forældede Ord, har Runeristeren forlænget Skilletegnet (:) til en Streg og udbugget et nyt Skilletegn foran, der har foranlediget den omtalte Udspaltning. Arendt allerede har læst disse to Ord ᛋᚴ : ᛋᚼᛦ og antager at den foregaaende Streg er en mislykket Rune, der ikke skulde medtages ved Læsningen; han har bemærket at dens Afstand fra den följende Character er lidt större end sædvanlig. Uden at antage noget Tidsforlöb inden den paafölgende Slutnings Indristning kunde man ogsaa antage at den her ommeldte Misristning af ᛁᚴᛋ istedenfor ᚴᛋ har foranlediget Risteren til strax at tilföie ᛋᚼᛦ, for at Meningen sikrere skulde kunne fattes.

De 4 sidste Runer i fjerde Linies Slutningsord ere temmelig utydelige i Tegningen og have af flere været ansete for ulæselige. Imidlertid har Hr. Kemp gjentagne Gange under fordelagtig Belysning tydelig kunnet see disse Runer og, naar Belysningen faldt skarpt paa dem, kunnet sikkert forfölge Trækkene, om hvis Læsning der vistnok ingen Tvivl kan være.

Indskriften i Linien underneden Dyrefiguren paa den anden Side er ogsaa tidligere læst og utvivlsom[1].

I Slutningslinien under Mandsfiguren paa tredie Side har man derimod alene gjengivet det første Ord, den første Rune af det andet Ord og Slutningsordet; af de midterste 8 eller 9 Runer bleve kun enkelte svage Træk med Usikkerhed bemærkede.

Vor første Runolog og efter ham vor første nordiske Sprogforsker har, som ovenfor bemærket, hver især underkastet selve Monumentet en nöiagtig Undersögelse, men ingen af dem har dristet sig til at udfylde Lacunen og, saavidt mig bekjendt, heller ingen anden för eller efter dem. Noget vovelig og uden stort Haab om et gunstigt Resultat syntes derfor et Forsög paa at udfinde hvad der har staaet at maatte blive. Imidlertid forekom det mig, især da dette Mindesmærke hörer til vore allervigtigste her i Danmark, at man ikke burde meddele denne Indskrift uden at gjöre et fornyet Forsög. Lærdom og Skarpsind til at fortolke en vanskelig Text er ikke altid forenet med Öie til at skimte halvt udslidte eller forældede Træk; hertil kommer at man ved fortsat, ofte gjentagen Betragtning af en saadan næsten halvt udslettet Indskrift under forskjellig Belysning, ikke alene naar den er beskinnet af Sollyset men ogsaa efter Solnedgang, dog muligen kan have den Tilfredsstillelse at skimte enkelte forhen ubemærkede Træk. Det gaaer i den Henseende med forvittret Lapidarskrift

[1]) Alle Runerne i denne Linie ere tydelige og den sidste har baade Worm, Abildgaard og Adam Müller gjengivet som ᚴ, men da den i A. Fabricius's Illustreret Danmarks Historie meddelte Radering her har ᛏ med Tværstregen noget lavere end paa den foregaaende Rune, eftersaae Hr. Kemp denne Linies Slutningsrune og bemærker at der staaer „aldeles tydelig ᚴ uden at der er mindste Spor af nogen Tværstreg over Linien, hverken forsætlig eller tilfældig".

ligesom med de udslidte eller afblegede Skrifttræk i Skindböger og paa gamle Papirsblade, hvor man ved oftere gjentagne Forsög stundum kan læse meget endog med Sikkerhed, som man förste Gang havde anseet fuldkommen ulæseligt.

Foranlediget af saadan Betragtning anmodede jeg Pastor Kemp om at gjöre gjentagne Forsög paa at spore enkelte Træk. Med störste Beredvillighed ydede han mig denne væsentlige Bistand, som jeg meget paaskjönner. Han betragtede Indskriften til forskjellige Tider paa Dagen og under forskjellige Belysninger, ogsaa efter Solnedgang, hvorefter han meddelte mig de Træk, som han troede med Sikkerhed at have opdaget. Jeg havde tidligere ikke vovet nogen Gisning, men i den Tanke, at det andet Ord, der sikkert saaes at begynde med et ᛏ, maatte være et Verbum, bad jeg ham dernæst at eftersee, om Ordet ikke kunde være ᛏᚢᚱ; jeg tænkte nemlig at der maatte staae tók (til), naar det ikke kunde være ᚢᛁᛏ (lèt). Han beskrev nöie hvert synligt Træk og bragde det til Vished, at denne Gisning ikke kunde være rigtig, og jeg lededes derefter ved de betegnede og beskrevne Træk til en anden Fortolkning.

Liniens Indskrift deels saaes, deels skimtedes at være som den her gjengives:

: ᚼ ᚢ ᚱ : ᛏ ᚼ ᚾ ᚼ ᚠ ᚢ ᛁ ᛏ : ᚠ ᚱ ᛁ ᛋ ᛏ ᚾ ᚼ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 og følgende.

Runerne 1—4 ere aldeles tydelige og allerede af Worm, Abildgaard og Arendt gjengivne. Arendt har dog kun af 4, 5, 6 gjengivet det överste Parti ᛏᛁᛁ og, ligesom Abildgaard, af de nærmest följende til Slutningsordet aldeles intet. Sögende, som ovenanförl, et Verbum i denne Linie, forespurgte jeg mig dog, om ikke den förste Rune kunde være ᛏ, men fik den Oplysning at der aldeles ingen Tvivl var om at denne Rune maatte læses ᚾ.

Runen 5 havde Hr. Kemp betegnet som | „fuldkommen tydelig", ligesom Worm ogsaa havde givet den; men jeg

bad ham, efter at jeg havde fattet Meningen, at eftersee, om der ikke skulde findes den antydede Tværstreg, og han svarede derpaa at der kan føles og tildeels sees en svag Fordybning eller Afskygning i Stenen som en Tværstreg, men at Indskriften paa dette Sted ikke gaaer meget dybt ind i Stenen. Først senere saae jeg at ogsaa Adam Müller havde paa sin Tegning svagt antydet den samme Tværstreg.

Tværstregen over 6 (ᛋ) er ganske tydelig, og allerede Worm har her den selvsamme Rune.

Af Runen 7 (ᛏ), som Worm har læst ᛁ, er Hovedstaven aldeles tydelig og Tværstregen kan temmelig sikkert baade sees og føles, saa at der om samme ikke kan være nogen Tvivl. Derimod skjönnes der ikke at være noget Skilletegn efter.

Runen 8 viser sig kun som en Streg, hvoraf dog kun den nederste Deel er aldeles tydelig; ganske utydelige Spor sees eller tildeels føles af opadgaaende Tværstreger, saaledes som antydet. Med Sikkerhed kunde denne Rune ikke af Hr. Kemp læses. Worm har givet den som ᚴ, har altsaa kun seet een opadgaaende Tværstreg, uagtet han har formodet, at det maatte være ᚴ.

Runen 9 er temmelig tydelig at see; istedenfor ᚿ har Worm her ᚾ:, men sin Læsning af denne og de 4 nærmest følgende Runer (ᛏᚱᚼᚴ) har han anseet for usikker. De tvende Runer, som skulde følge nærmest efter, nemlig Nr. 10 og 11, ere aldeles usynlige, da Stenen der kun er en tabula rasa; det er aldeles umuligt at opdage mindste Spor af nogen Rune paa Pladsen. For en tredie Rune her, Nr. 12, er der kun liden Plads, men en saadan Rune synes dog at vise sig som ᛁ, (eller maaskee som ᚾ, ikke som ᚾ). Runen 13 er tydelig at see som ᛏ, uagtet dog Adam Müller kun har vovet at gjengive en yderst svag Tværstreg til höire ᚿ. Runerne 14 og følgende ere, som tidligere bemærket, aldeles tydelige.

For at have en Forestilling om Forholdet, bemærkes, at hele Linien udgjör 3′ 9″; fra Rune 4 til 13, begge inclusive, 1′ 8½″; fra Rune 8 til 13, begge inclusive 1′ 1″.

Efter de saaledes meddelte Oplysninger skulde man vist ikke ansee det for en meget vovet Gisning at supplere Pladserne 10 til 12 ᛘᛁ og at læse hele Linien:

: AUK : TANAFULKIT : KRISTNO :

KRISTNO kan ikke være Substantivet, der hedder *kristni* og er foeminin; men det kunde være Adjectiv i Dativ neutrum, og det foregaaende Substantiv maatte da ogsaa være Dativ, følgelig Pladsen 10 til 12 kun udfyldes med de to Runer ᛘᛦ, hvilket, som ovenfor bemærket, vel kan passe efter Pladsens Brede, og dernæst maatte Slutningsrunen i Ordet ikke læses som ᛏ men som ᛁ, uagtet den dog forekommer at være tydeligt ᛏ. Imidlertid, om man ogsaa kunde læse saa, skjönner jeg ikke at deraf kan udbringes nogen rimelig Mening.

Antager man derimod ᚴᚱᛁᛋᛏᚾᚱ for Verbets Infinitiv præsens, ledes man til en Fortolkning, der, saavidt jeg skjönner, kan have Sandsynlighed for sig. Et saadant Antagende bestyrkes ved det selvsamme Infinitivs sikre Forekomst i en anden Runeindskrift, nemlig paa Frösö-Stenen i Jæmteland (L 1085, B 1112, W 522), hvor der siges om Austmod Gudfastson (ᛅᚢᛋᛏᛘᚮᚦᛅ ᚴᚢᚦᚠᛅᛋᛏᛅᚾᛋᚢᚾ) at ᛅᚾᚱ ᚢᛏ ᚴᚱᛁᛋᛏᚾᚱ ᛁᚾᛏᛅᚢᚾᛏ: HON LIT KRISTNO IÖTALONT, hvor saaledes ᚱ i flere Ord forekommer istedenfor det sædvanlige ᛏ eller ᛅ: „hann lèt kristna Jámtaland". Iövrigt bemærkes at Runen ᚱ i danske saavelsom svenske Runestene oftere bruges for ᛏ til at betegne samme a-Lyd, der vistnok her er Tilfældet ligesom i Ordet ᛋᚱᛅ ovenfor, naar den af mig foreslaaede Fortolkning antages.

Naar denne Læsning hyldes, bemærker man at der i Slutningslinien intet Verbum findes, hvoraf Infinitivet KRISTNO kan afhænge; man henvises saaledes til det paa Indskriftens

Hovedside sidst forekommende Verbum VANN; *vinna* betyder overvinde, erobre, bemægtige sig, *superare, occupare, potiri,* og det har her i denne Betydning de to Objecter „Danmaurk ala" og „Nurviag", ligesom der paa en Runesteen paa Lunds Gjerde, Valbo Sogn i Gestrikland (L 1050, B 1100) siges om Ibiurn, at han „vant Selalant ala"; dernæst betyder det ogsaa udrette, opnaae, fuldföre, *efficere, patrare, assequi,* og i denne Betydning staaer det her med Infinitivet i Slutningen; VANN KRISTNA er det samme som *kristnaði,* aldeles ligesom, for blot at nævne et Par Exempler af mange, i Vegtamskviða i den ældre Edda (IV 5—6, der dog er tagen af en Papirsafskrift og maaskee mindre authentisk) *vann at vinna eið* er det samme som *vann eið* og i Skáldhelga-rímur, som höre til de ældste Digte af denne Digtart (I 52, Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker 2 p. 458) *vann leita* er det samme som *leitaði.* I Rekstefja, som Skjalden Hallarsteinn i det 11te Aarhundrede forfattede om Kong Olaf Tryggvason (str. 11, Scripta historica Islandomm vol. III p. 250) siger han om denne at han „*vann kristnat Ísland, Grænaveldi ok Eyjar*", kristnede Island, Grönland og Öerne, hvor altsaa Verbet *vann* forekommer i den selvsamme Betydning med Participiet. Det er troligt at Runeristeren netop har villet anvende denne Participform, der saaledes sees at være brugt aldeles i samme Forbindelse og Betydning i eller nær ved hans Tidsalder, hvortil der dog ikke har været Plads i Linien, og har han derfor maattet indskrænke sig til at udtrykke det samme med Infinitivet.

Efterat have forudskikket disse Bemærkninger, vil jeg her vedföie en Afbildning af Indskriftens Hovedside i formindsket Maalestok og derunderneden i samme Forhold, for at fremstille hele denne mærkelige Indskrift samlet paa eet Sted, de tvende Slutningslinier fra de andre Sider.

Den hele Indskrift læser jeg, ifölge hvad jeg ovenfor har forklaret, saaledes, udtrykt med latinske Versalier:

HARALTR : KUNŪKR : BAÞ : GAURUA : KŪBL : ÞAUSI : AFT : KURM : FAÞUR : SIN : AUK : AFT : ÞIURUI : MUÞUR : SINA : SA : HARALTR : [AS : SO'R : UAN . TANMAURK : ALA : AUK : NURUIAK : AUK : TANAFULKIT : KRISTNO.

Omskrevet efter den for Olddansken senere indförte almindeligste islandske Skrivemaade, bliver denne Indskrift at læse saaledes, hvorved imidlertid maa bemærkes, at mange af de ældste islandske Haandskrifter have Oidene „baþ, gaurva, faþur, danmaurk" skrevne tildels eller aldeles som i Runeindskriften:

Haraldr konúngr bað göra kumbl þetta (þessi)[1] eftir Gorm, föður sinn, ok eftir Þyri, móður sína, sá Haraldr es (ɔ: sá er) vann Danmörk alla ok Norveg ok Danafólkit kristna.

D. e. Kong Harald lod gjöre denne Höi efter sin Fader Gorm og efter sin Moder Thyre, den Harald som vandt (blev Herre over) hele Danmark og Norge og (udförte det Værk) at kristne (d. e. kristnede) Danefolket.

Det maa ved Kong Gorms Mindesteen bemærkes, at Forestillingerne paa dens anden og tredie Side ere udförte ganske i den samme Smag som bemærkes i de i Thyre Danebods Gravhöi fundne Gjenstande, hvorved saaledes Runestenens Udförelse henvises til samme Tidsalder.

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[1]) I Gróugaldr i den ældre Edda (str. 1) forekommer det sammensatte Ord „kumbl-dys"; *dys* svarer i Betydning til det græske θίς, opkastet Höi, *agger*, og det persiske diz, en Höi (jfr. det svenske *dös*, en Höstak); *kumbl* betyder vel oprindelig en Dynge (*cumulus*), navnlig en Steendynge, Steensætning; *kumbl-dys* er da en Steen-Dysse og, ligesom senere *kumbl* særskilt, en over en steensat Grav opført Gravhöi; „kumbl þausi" antager jeg her brugt i plur. med denne Betydning i collectiv Forstand, og at der ligeledes i Indskriften paa Thyre Danebods Mindesteen (ovenfor p. 307) maa læses „kumbl þausi" og ikke þusi, forklaret þüsi = þonsi, acc. sing. masc., da *kumbl* er neutr. Paa samme Maade finder man Ordet i collectiv Forstand anvendt i Flertal paa andre Runestene: L 1383, 1265, 1254 og paa Löfstalund-Stenen (ovenfor p. 237, jfr. p. 235): kübl þausi, þisi, þesi; medens det dog ogsaa stundum forekommer i sing.: L 895, 896: kuml þatsi og L 331: kübl þita.

FUNDEN PAA
ST PAULS KIRKEGAARD I LONDON.

GORM DEN GAMLES MINDESTEEN.

GORM DEN GAMLES MINDESTEEN.

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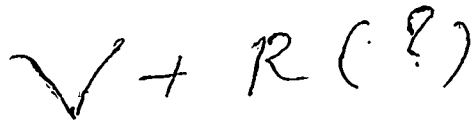

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